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T H E
BRITISH PLUTARCH,
CONTAINING
T H E L I V E S
O F T H E

Most Eminent STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES, WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS, POETS, and ARTISTS, of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, from the Accession of HENRY VIII. to the present Time. Including a Compendious View of the History of England during that Period.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

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THE THIRD EDITION,

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by the Addition of New Lives.

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Being the most eminent persons who flourished
in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

THE
BRITISH PLUTARCH.

The LIFE of
THOMAS SACKVILLE,
EARL OF DORSET.

[A. D. 1536, to 1608.]

WE are now entering upon an æra of the British history, distinguished by the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, in the person of James (Stuart) the sixth sovereign of Scotland of that name, and the first of England; who succeeded to the throne of England by hereditary right, upon the extinction of the race of Tudors, of which queen Elizabeth was

the last descendant. Whether it was owing to the natural inconstancy of the people, their love of novelty, or the high expectations they had formed of James, from the flattering characters which had been drawn of him by his friends at the English court, and by those who were destined to follow his fortunes from Scotland, and to enjoy rank and offices in his new dominions, is not so easily determined at this distance of time; but certain it is, that no prince ever ascended the British throne with louder acclamations, or was received with more tokens of joy by his subjects than James I.

The public rejoicings upon this extraordinary occasion were however greatly checked, and the fervent zeal of his English subjects soon subsided, when they saw what a profusion of dignities, of grants, and of pensions, were lavished upon the swarms of Scots, who had attended their sovereign to his new kingdom.

At the same time, the eyes of all the potentates of Europe were fixed with eager expectation on James; and their respective courts were divided in opinion, as their inclinations and party-connections influenced them, with respect to the line of conduct intended to be pursued by the new king. On the one hand, the Popish powers considered him as the son of a martyr to the cause of their holy religion; they thought the embers of his resentment for the tragical death of his mother were only smothered for a time from political motives, particularly, that he might not irritate Elizabeth to attempt some other settlement of the succession to the British crown; but they now expected it would blaze forth with redoubled fury. On the other hand, the allied Protestant princes and states, who had been so powerfully assisted and supported by the late queen, dreading a change of measures, and totally kept in the dark with respect to the true character

acter of James, were as anxious as the other party to court, and if possible to secure his favour.

This complexion of the times produced an emulation on the continent, who should send the most speedy, honourable, and splendid embassies to England, to felicitate the king on his taking possession of his newly-acquired dominions, and to negotiate new treaties and alliances. The splendor of the English court was thus, by the critical situation of the affairs of Europe, considerably increased; foreigners of distinction from every quarter resorting to it, in the retinues of the ambassadors, from their respective countries. As for James, he had long foreseen the delicate circumstances in which he should find himself upon his first coming to the throne of England, both at home and abroad; and conscious of the alterations he intended to make in the foreign and domestic concerns of this kingdom, as soon as he was firmly seated, he began his reign with the only act of sound policy for which he was memorable.

Though he detested the memory of Elizabeth to such a degree, that he would never wear mourning for her, nor suffer it to be worn in his presence; yet he continued in the administration of government the very ministers through whose influence, and that of their families in the late reign, his mother was brought to the block. The reader will readily perceive that I mean Thomas Sackville, then lord Buckhurst, and Sir Robert Cecil; but the reasons of this conduct will more evidently appear in the course of their lives, which now follow both in the order of time, and of historic facts: with this exception, that we must go back to antecedent events, in order to bring them forward regularly on the public theatre, and to explain the causes which contributed to their farther promotion under James I.

4 THOMAS SACKVILLE,

Thomas Sackville was the son of Richard Sackville, Esq; by Winifred, the daughter of Sir John Bruges, lord-mayor of London. He was born at Buckhurst in Suffex, the seat of the ancient family of the Sackvilles, in the year 1536; and it was from this seat he derived his baron's title of lord Buckhurst. He was sent to Oxford towards the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. but he afterwards removed to Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts. From thence he came to London, and entered into the law-society of the Inner-Temple; not with a view of following the profession, but by the study of the municipal law of the land to qualify himself for the public service of his country in parliament.

He obtained a seat in the house of commons towards the end of the reign of queen Mary; and thus becoming a public character, he neglected the muses, to whom he had before devoted great part of his time, insomuch, that while he was at the university, he was deemed a good poet; and during his residence in the Temple, he established his reputation by his moral dramatic work, intituled, "The Induction, or Introduction to the Mirror of Magistrates." It consists of a series of poems, exhibiting examples of very bad men in high stations, who met with extraordinary punishments, and ended their lives in misery or infamy: the characters are formed upon the plan of the drama, and the moral of the performance is recommendatory of virtuous actions, as the means of avoiding the catastrophes which befell them. It was greatly admired at the time of its publication; and Mr. Warton says, that "Sackville's Induction approaches nearer to the Fairy Queen in the richness of allegoric description, than any previous or succeeding poem."

In

In 1561, four years after the appearance of the Induction, Mr. Sackville produced a tragedy for the stage, intituled, "Ferrex and Porrex, the two Sons of Gorboduc, king of Britain;" in which however he was assisted by Mr. Norton, who wrote the three first acts. This was the first tragedy in English verse, and it was received with very great applause by the publick, after it had been performed by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple before queen Elizabeth at Whitehall. The title was afterwards changed to Gorboduc; and several spurious editions being published by the booksellers, the author published a correct edition in 1570.

Sir Philip Sidney gives the following character of this play: "Gorboduc is full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca's style; and as full of notable morality, which it doth most delightfully teach, and thereby obtains the very end of poetry." We may add, that whoever reads it with attention, and considers the infant state of English poetry at the time it was written (some years before the appearance of Shakespeare), must allow, that it merited the pains taken by Pope and Spence to retrieve it from oblivion, which they effected, by recommending it to the manager of Drury-lane theatre in 1736, where it had a great run; and the same year Mr. Spence published a new edition, which is the best.

In the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, Mr. Sackville was elected knight of the shire for the county of Suffex; and his father, Sir Richard Sackville, was chosen at the same time for Kent; and in the second parliament of that reign, the father was returned for Suffex, and the son for Buckinghamshire. About this time he visited France and Italy, and during his tour, he was imprisoned at Rome, but on what account we have no information, being only told that this was his situation in 1566, when he received the news of his father's death.

death, upon which he was released; and being now in possession of a large estate, it is a rational conclusion, that it was some affair of debt, for which he was enabled to give security, and thus obtained leave to return home.

He was graciously received by the queen, who soon after conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and then raised him to the dignity of a peer, by the style and title of lord Buckhurst. The same extravagance which most probably had involved him in difficulties abroad, still accompanied him; and he now assumed such splendor and magnificence in his manner of living, that his income, great as it was, could not supply, and he was obliged to borrow money upon usurious terms. This circumstance, however, accidentally contributed to reclaim him; for being one day obliged to wait a considerable time at the house of an alderman of London, who had advanced him money, and who, knowing his necessitous circumstances, paid no regard to his high rank, and would not come down to him till he thought proper; lord Buckhurst was so mortified, that he turned œconomist from this time, that he might not be exposed in future to such insults; and the queen receiving him into particular favour, he was soon after enabled to extricate himself from all inconveniencies, by the considerable employments he held under her majesty. Not only his merit, but his affinity, recommended him to Elizabeth, his grandfather having married a sister of Sir Thomas Boleyn, the queen's maternal grandfather: we therefore find him employed on the most honourable embassies, suited to the dignity of his family. In 1571, he was sent ambassador to Charles IX. king of France, to congratulate that monarch on his marriage with the emperor Maximilian's daughter, and to negociate the treaty of marriage between the duke of Anjou and queen Elizabeth.

In

In 1586, being then of the queen's cabinet-council, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the trial of Mary queen of Scots; and when the parliament had confirmed the sentence of death passed upon that princess, he was selected to inform her of it, and to see it carried into execution.

In 1587, the queen shewed the greatest confidence in lord Buckhurst, by sending him, in quality of her ambassador extraordinary, to settle the disputes that had arisen between the States-General of the United Provinces, and the earl of Leicester; and this delicate trust he executed with such impartiality, that he gained the esteem of the States, who expressed their satisfaction to the queen. But Leicester's pride and jealousy made him refuse to submit to lord Buckhurst's prudent compromise of the quarrel between him and the States, from which he appealed to the queen, whose partiality to her favourite was so great, that she not only recalled lord Buckhurst, but at the instigation of Leicester confined him to his house nine or ten months, on pretext that he had made improper concessions to the Dutch; but upon the death of the earl of Leicester, he was restored to favour, and advanced to new honours. In 1590, he was made a knight of the garter; and the following year, by the queen's express recommendation, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford; and as a mark of her majesty's approbation of their choice, she visited the university in 1592, staid there several days, and honoured with her presence the various entertainments and banquets prepared for her by the chancellor.

In 1598, he was made coadjutor to lord Burleigh, in the negociation for a peace with Spain, which alarmed the Dutch so much, as he had hitherto been their friend, that they sent ambassadors to England, to renew their treaties of alliance

8 THOMAS SACKVILLE,

and of commerce with the queen. But instead of favouring them upon this occasion, as he had done upon the former, when he thought the earl of Leiceſter in the wrong, he propoſed a new treaty, more advantageous for England, to which the Dutch readily acceded; and lord Burleigh being at this time very ill, and on the verge of the grave, he managed the whole buſineſs; and beſides other advantages, he eaſed the queen of an annual ſtipend of 120,000l. which had been paid to the States for many years, to enable them to ſupport their independency, after they ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke. The death of lord Burleigh followed cloſe upon this event, and the proper reward for the eminent ſervices lord Buckhurſt had performed, was the office of lord high treaſurer, to which he ſucceeded the ſame year; and from this time he may be conſidered as prime miniſter of England, having almoſt the ſole management of public affairs at the cloſe of this, and for the firſt four years of the following reign.

As queen Elizabeth's health began to decline, he was very conſtant and accurate in his correſpondence with James, which recommended him particularly to the favour of that monarch, who was well apprized that lord Buckhurſt had taken every meaſure to ſecure his peaceable acceſſion. In return for his aſſiduity, king James granted him a new patent to hold the office of lord treaſurer for life, and created him earl of Dorſet, in the year 1604. He was likewiſe appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of earl-marſhal of England. And in theſe high ſtations he had the happineſs to enjoy the public eſteem; for he made uſe of his abilities to promote the welfare of his country, and was a firm ſupporter of the Proteſtant intereſt at home and abroad. The laſt ſervice which he performed in this reſpect, was in the
nego-

negociation for a peace between Spain and Holland. He secretly encouraged the Dutch to insist upon an acknowledgment of their independency, by the court of Spain, as an indispensable article in the treaty; and he promoted the mediation of England and France with Spain in their favour, by which means this great point was accomplished, but he did not live to see it ratified; for he died suddenly at the council-board in April 1608, and the independency of the States, as acknowledged by Spain, was not proclaimed till 1609. As the court swarmed with needy Scotch favourites, his sudden catastrophe occasioned some slight suspicions concerning the cause of it; but upon opening his head, his mortal disease was discovered to be an hydrocephalus, a kind of dropsey of the brain. He had perceived no extraordinary decay of health till the year before his death, when he was so ill, and reduced so low, that his life was despaired of; and upon this occasion the king manifested his tender regard for him, by sending him a gold ring set with diamonds, requiring him to wear it for his sake, and wishing he might speedily recover, and live as long as the diamonds of that ring should endure. This instance of the king's affection, and his placing the most unlimited confidence in him upon all occasions, is to be accounted for on principles of policy. Lord Buckhurst and Sir Robert Cecil held the reins of government when Elizabeth's health began to decline; their influence in foreign states, and their known attachment to the Protestant interest, engaged him to court their favour at that period; and his fear of any revival of the claim of the Suffolk family, on whom the succession of the crown had been settled by the last will of Henry VIII. after the death of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, without issue, obliged him to continue his favours to them as long as they lived;

but

but when these sage counsellors were no more, the Scotch system prevailed, James grew arbitrary, and laid the foundation of the future ruin of his whole race.

The character given of lord Buckhurst by Sir Robert Naunton does him great honour. He represents him as a scholar, whose elocution was much commended, but his writings more. As a statesman, he speaks highly of his abilities and his integrity; and as a courtier, he observes, that he steered clear of the factions of the times.

Mr. Walpole finishes the portrait of this great man, by remarking, that few first ministers have left so fair a character. In private life, he was an affectionate husband, a kind father, and a firm friend. Nor must we forget his remarkable hospitality, though we have no reason to hope it will have any effect on the present degenerate age. For the last twenty years of his life, his family consisted of 200 persons, most of whom he entertained upon motives of charity; nor was he less benevolent to the poor out of doors, to whom he afforded liberal relief in times of sickness and scarcity. Besides his poems, there are extant several of his lordship's letters, printed in the Cabala. Also a Latin letter to Dr. Bartholomew Clerke, prefixed to that author's Latin translation of Balthazar Castiglione's Courtier, from the Italian. Clerke's translation was first printed at London in 1571, with the following title, "De Curiali five Aulico." The present noble family of the Sackvilles derive their descent from our statesman, as well as the title of peerage still remaining in the family, but raised to a dukedom.

* * * *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. Oxon. Sidney's Apology for Poetry. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. Salmon's Chronol. Historian.

THE LIFE OF
SIR ROBERT CECIL,
EARL OF SALISBURY.

[A. D. 1550, to 1612.]

THIS gentleman closes the list of those able ministers of state, who were first brought into public employment by queen Elizabeth, but whose eminent services rendered them as conspicuous in the early part of the reign of James I. The reader will observe, that the memoirs of Sir Robert Cecil are inserted in this place, not only as they follow in the order of time, but because he was the immediate successor in office to the earl of Dorset.

He was the son of the famous lord Burleigh, and his birth is supposed to have happened in 1550; but this is not ascertained with any degree of certainty, nor is it in the least material at this distance of time. Being deformed from his birth, the natural consequence, a feeble constitution, and sickly habit of body, rendered him unfit for scholastic exercises in early youth; he was therefore put under the care of a private tutor at home; and at the same time that he was gradually improved in different branches of human learning, he was bred a courtier, and acquired an early knowledge of state affairs, from being constantly with his father, who

who designing him for public employments under the government, took care to initiate him in the science of politics, which was to be the basis of his future fortune. But as it was the fashion of the times for every gentleman of rank and eminence in life to be a member of one of our universities, he was sent for form's sake to St. John's-college, Cambridge, of which he was made a fellow, and obtained an honorary degree of master of arts; and the same compliment was afterwards paid to him at Oxford. The writers of his life observe, that he became a great proficient in politics early in life, and that the queen employed him in several important negociations; but the particulars are not specified, nor have we any authentic account of his appearance in a public station till he was appointed secretary of the embassy to the earl of Derby, her majesty's ambassador to the court of France. This happened about the year 1585; and as Mr. Cecil, at this time, must have been thirty-five years of age, it may well be imagined, that the factions which divided the streams of court favour, and the earl of Leicester's enmity to his father, impeded his promotion; otherwise, it seems strange, that the only son of so powerful and confidential a minister as lord Burleigh should not have been much sooner and better provided for. In 1586, upon his return from France, her majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; and he was made under-secretary of state to Sir Francis Walsingham, then labouring under a bad state of health. In this office he continued till the death of Sir Francis in 1590, when he succeeded him as principal secretary of state.

Sir Robert Cecil, as soon as he was in the possession of the seals, which gave him a seat and considerable influence in the cabinet-council, strained every

every nerve to disgrace the earl of Essex, whom he considered as the chief obstacle to his attainment of that plenitude of power, which ministers of state in general wish to enjoy from the first moment they come into office. Sir Robert saw his father upon the verge of the grave, worn out with old age, and the fatigues of a long and active administration; and Essex, a younger man than himself, in full possession of the queen's favour. In this situation he reasoned and acted like a complete courtier, apprehensive that, if his father died while his rival was the reigning favourite, he should not succeed him as prime minister; he made use of all those base and wicked arts, which Machiavelian politicians, versed in the intrigues of courts, know how to employ, to ensnare a powerful rival, and to hurry him impetuously into measures calculated to effect his ruin. The strong passions of Essex made him an easy prey to the cool, deliberate cunning of his enemy; and it is certain, that Sir Robert Cecil's misrepresentations of the earl's dispatches from Ireland, and his aggravated accounts of his mal-administration in that kingdom, laid before the council, occasioned those sharp rebukes sent to him from the board, which hurried him into acts of desperation, with a view of removing his enemies from the queen's person, till, in the end, he broke forth into open rebellion; and then Cecil took care to bring him to the block. Indeed, Sir Robert Cecil's character is so black, with regard to his proceedings against the earl of Essex, that if he had not maintained the honour of his country in his negotiations with foreign powers, and performed many eminent services to the state both at home and abroad in his official capacity, we should not have thought him worthy of a place in this work.

Lord Burleigh, in order to pave the way to his succeeding him in all his offices, resigned to his son, by the queen's permission, his office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, about a year before his death, and much about the same time her majesty gave him the privy-seal. The following year, 1598, he was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the king of France, to mediate a peace between France and Spain; and while he was absent his father died, whom he succeeded in all his offices, except that of lord-high-treasurer, which was continued to his coadjutor lord Buckhurst: but such was his influence at court, after the death of his father, that he was absolutely the prime minister, having the chief direction of public affairs, and, after the fall of Essex, the entire confidence of the queen. But our courtier was not yet satisfied; and when he saw that his royal mistress gave way to a deep melancholy, which seemed to threaten a speedy decline, he considered his situation as very precarious, unless he could secure the favour of the presumptive heir to the crown, who, he well knew, entertained no favourable opinion of him, nor of any of the party who had been concerned with him, in the ruin of the earl of Essex.

Difficult as the task was to bring over the king of Scotland to his interest, Sir Robert accomplished it by entering into a secret correspondence with him, unknown to the queen, or to the rest of the ministry. James, who expected an opposition to his claim of succeeding to the British crown, not only from the Suffolk family, but likewise from the faction, who wished for a second female administration, and plotted to raise the lady Arabella Stewart to the throne, readily embraced the offers of service made him by Sir Robert, and made him the most ample promises of reward, if he continued

steadfast to his interest ; and, to do him justice, he kept his word. It is to be presumed, that Cecil kept this correspondence a profound secret, not revealing it even to his most intimate friends, till a few weeks before the queen's death ; yet it is really surprising that it was never discovered, for the very nature of the correspondence required the frequent passing and repassing of couriers ; and if it had not been for his great presence of mind, we are told, it must have come to the knowledge of the queen by this very circumstance. For as her majesty was taking the air in her coach upon Blackheath, a courier dispatched to Sir Robert from his office in London, being informed that he was in the coach with her majesty, rode up to it to deliver his packet. The queen, desiring to know from whence it came, the messenger replied, from Scotland, which made her more earnest to know the contents ; upon which Cecil, without hesitation, called for a knife, that he might not be suspected by any delay on his part ; and having cut it open, he pretended that the papers looked and smelt very ill, coming out of many unfavourable budgets ; he therefore advised, that they should be exposed some time to the air, before the queen perused them ; to which she readily consented, which gave him an opportunity to send them back to the office, to secrete such intelligence as he did not wish to have revealed, and to substitute any other papers in their stead.

For the last two months of Elizabeth's life, she complained bitterly of the little attention paid to her by her servants, who were all busily employed in writing to Scotland ; and she particularly lamented, that those on whom she had bestowed the greatest favours were the first to neglect her : Sir Robert Cecil and lord Buckhurst were of this number ; and a good understanding subsisting between them,

them, it is most probable, that when they found the queen passed all hopes of recovery, they reciprocally entrusted each other with the secret of their Scotch correspondence. For on the demise of Elizabeth, Sir Robert Cecil produced her will, read it publickly, and instantly proclaimed James I. Lord Buckhurst, at the same time, set off for Scotland, to carry the glad tidings to his new sovereign, and to secure the renewal of his patent of lord high treasurer.

The king held his first court in England, and settled his council at the country-seat of Sir Robert Cecil, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, on the 3d of May, 1603; and a few days after, he made him a peer of the realm, by the title of baron of Essenden, in Rutlandshire. The following year, he had ingratiated himself so thoroughly, that he was raised to the dignity of a viscount, by the title of viscount Cranbourne, in Dorsetshire; and in 1605 he was created earl of Salisbury, installed knight of the garter, and elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

It seems to be the opinion of the ablest historians of these times, that the new made earl stood indebted, for all his honours and preferments in this reign, to that time-serving disposition so conspicuous in his character, which led him to a ready compliance with all his master's wishes. And it is asserted, that he encouraged James to extend the royal prerogative beyond the limits prescribed to it by the laws of the land. He is charged in particular with having caused a cart-load of parliament-precedents (that spake the subjects liberty) to be burnt, and of having advised the strange method of supplying the king with money, in the first year of his reign, by the creation of 200 baronets, each person paying 1000*l.* for this honour.

However,

However, it must be confessed, that he applied himself very assiduously to the duties of his office, and conducted the business of the nation in a manner that made him esteemed at home, and respected by foreign courts; and when the interest of his country appeared to be at stake, we find that he opposed the king's measures with respect to foreign affairs, though he is justly accused of having been more disposed to favour the crown than the people, in his domestic administration. Thus in the affair of the proposed alliance with Spain, by the marriage of prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. with the Infanta, lord Salisbury shewed himself to be not only an able statesman, but a zealous friend to the Protestant cause, which he knew would be exposed to imminent danger in Britain, if this alliance took place; on which account, he opposed the proposition in council, and the marriage articles in the house of peers, with such firmness and strength of reasoning, that the agents from Spain, and the English Roman Catholics attached to their interest, secretly plotted to take him off by assassination. But their villainous scheme being over-heard by one of his lordship's servants, he was put upon his guard; and soon after, he enforced the act of parliament made on the discovery of the gun-powder plot, offering great rewards for the detection of concealed Popish priests, and for banishing Popish recusants, by which means he got rid of his secret enemies. The opposition he made to the Spanish alliance did not lessen him, however, in the esteem of his royal master, who knew the value of such a minister; and accordingly we find him in such high favour in 1606, that Christian IV. king of Denmark, being in England at this time, on a visit to James I. his majesty accepted an invitation given to the two monarchs by the earl of Salisbury, and took

took his royal guest with him to the earl's seat at Theobalds, where they were entertained four days with great magnificence.

In 1608, lord Salisbury attained the summit of his wishes, by succeeding to the office of lord high treasurer, on the demise of the earl of Dorset. And in the management of the public revenues, he found fresh opportunities of exerting his political abilities, and of acquiring great popularity; for the earl of Dorset had encouraged the king's profuseness to his Scotch favourites, on whom he lavished the treasures of the nation, without starting a single objection, from an apprehension of losing an office, which gratified his own profuseness and ostentation. But the earl of Salisbury took the liberty to remonstrate against this scandalous misapplication of the public revenues; and once, when the king had given a warrant for money to Sir Robert Carr, afterwards earl of Somerset, and his first favourite, the lord treasurer fell upon a stratagem to convince his majesty, that inevitable ruin must be the consequence of his extravagant presents to his courtiers. Rightly judging that James, who was come from a poor country, where there was a great scarcity of money, was totally ignorant of the immense value of the gift he had bestowed on Sir Robert Carr, he followed the tenor of the warrant, and had the sum specified in it told out, and piled up in silver upon tables, in an apartment at Salisbury-house, through which the king was to pass to dinner, Cecil having invited him for the purpose. When his majesty beheld the piles, he was thunder-struck, and not conceiving where so much money could come from, or to whom it could belong, he directly asked, whose property it was; to which lord Salisbury replied, "Your majesty's, before you gave it away." Upon this, the king fell into a violent passion, swore

swore that he had been abused, for he could never mean to bestow such a prodigious quantity of silver on any man; and then grasping one of the piles in great raptures, he took a few handfuls, amounting to the value of about three hundred pounds, and putting them aside, he protested Carr should have no more: but the treasurer, either unwilling to distress the favourite, or dreading the king's future displeasure, contented himself with keeping back half the sum granted him in the warrant; and from this time the king was more sparing of his bounty as long as lord Salisbury lived: but after his death, he was more profuse than ever to his Scotch courtiers; the clamours of his English subjects increased; and the exhausted state of the public finances was considered as a national grievance by the second parliament in this reign, which refused to grant his majesty any supplies, unless he would promise to apply them solely to the public service, and were thereupon dissolved in 1614.

A frugal administration of the finances was not the only service rendered to his country by the earl of Salisbury, while he was at the head of the treasury. He patronized every ingenious invention, or useful discovery, for the benefit of trade and navigation; he encouraged the fisheries on our coasts by the natives, strictly forbidding all foreigners that beneficial branch of trade; and he extended his attention to Ireland, which derived signal advantages from his political and commercial regulations; one of which was, offering rewards for the tillage of uncultivated lands.

At length, his incessant application to the various duties of his high station preyed upon his constitution, and brought on a decline, which first affected his lungs, and reduced him to a very weak condition; he was next attacked with a Tertian
ague,

ague, a disorder which seems to have been very fatal in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the spring of the year 1612, his physicians found that he had a complication of disorders; but the most dangerous were the dropsy and the scurvy, for which they had advised the Bathwaters. Before he set out for Bath, the king made him several visits, and expressed his sense of his great merit, as well as his personal affection for the only able minister remaining of the last reign, by every token of royal favour. He parted with him in tears, and protested to the lords in waiting, the loss he should sustain in him of the wisest counsellor and the best servant of any prince in Christendom. At this time, the king had no hopes of his recovery, and therefore he ordered that no man should disturb him, by speaking to him on public business; but when news was brought to court from Bath, that he was much better, his majesty, in testimony of the satisfaction he received from this intelligence, sent lord Hay express to Bath to deliver a token of remembrance to him, as well as an assurance of the continuance of the royal favour. "The present was a fair diamond set, or rather hung square, in a gold ring without a foil;" and it was delivered with this message: "That the favour and affection the king bore him was, and should be ever, as the form and matter of that ring, endless, pure, and most perfect." The writers of this minister's life have been very careful to preserve this anecdote; but they have not explained the true motive of sending this present, independent of the king's personal regard. It should have been observed, that the foible of the earl of Salisbury was his love of power, which he carried to such excess, that he could not bear a rival near the throne; in this disposition, though he was a ready dis-

discerner, and in general a great rewarder of merit in others, it was only when it did not stand in competition with his own. His ungenerous and cruel conduct to Sir Walter Raleigh sprung from jealousy; and in his last illness, willing to retain his office as long as life remained, he had been continually sending exprestes to court, to give the king hopes of his recovery, and to prevent the mortification of having his place disposed of before his decease. To make him easy upon this head, James sent one of the lords of the bed-chamber to him with the above present and message; but the accounts which had been sent to court were only flattering, and calculated to answer the purpose; for in reality Bath had done him no service, and therefore he was advised to return to London. But he was so exhausted, that he could proceed no further than Marlborough, where he died, at the house of his intimate friend Mr. Daniel, on the 24th of May, 1612. His body being embalmed, was brought to Hatfield in Hertfordshire, (a royal manor, which the king had given him in exchange for Theobalds) where it was interred with all that pomp and magnificence, which in those days was considered as an essential part of the etiquette of rank and high stations in life; and a superb monument was erected some time after to his memory, in Hatfield church.

The earl of Salisbury left only one son, named William (in compliment to his illustrious grandfather) who succeeded him in honours and estate; and from whom the present families, enjoying the titles of earl of Salisbury and earl of Exeter, are descended. These titles were at first united in Sir Robert Cecil's patent, but they were afterwards separated, and there are now two branches of this noble family inheritors of the peerage.

* * * *Authorities.* Wilson's Life of James I. edit. 1653. Weldon's Court and Character of James I. Hume's

Hume's History of England. Biog. Brit. Collins's
Peerage.

THE LIFE OF

SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

[A. D. 1552, to 1618.]

THIS illustrious ornament of his country, who united in his character the hero, the patriot, the privy-counsellor, and the man of letters, was the son of Walter Raleigh, or Raleigh, Esq. a descendant of an ancient and respectable family in Devonshire. His mother was the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and relict of Otho Gilbert, Esq. of Compton in Devonshire, when she became the third wife of our patriot's father, to whom she bore two sons, Carew and Walter. The latter, whose eminent services to his country have immortalized his name, was born at Budley in Devonshire, in 1552; and at fourteen years of age was sent to finish his education at the university of Oxford, where he became a gentleman commoner of Oriel college. Here he distinguished himself by the strength and vivacity of his genius, and by his close application to his studies; notwithstanding which, a disposition for more active scenes of life frequently discovered itself in his conversation;

tion; and his father, finding that the thirst of fame was his ruling passion, resolved to place him in the road to it, by introducing him into the military service. He therefore remained only three years at Oxford, and in 1569, being then only seventeen years old, he was one of the troop of an hundred gentlemen volunteers, whom queen Elizabeth permitted Henry Champernon to transport into France, for the service of the Protestant princes. Mr. Raleigh had here a good opportunity of acquiring experience in the art of war, of improving himself in the knowledge of the modern languages, and of acquiring all the accomplishments of a gentleman. He did not return till the end of the year 1575, having spent six years in France.

The activity of his temper did not suffer him to rest long at home; for in 1578, he went into the service of the prince of Orange, against the Spaniards.

Soon after this, he had an opportunity of trying his fortune at sea. His half-brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert, having obtained a patent to plant and settle some northern parts of America, not claimed by any nation in alliance with the queen of England, Mr. Raleigh engaged with a considerable number of gentlemen in an expedition to Newfoundland; but this proved unsuccessful, for divisions arising among the volunteers, Sir Humphry, the general, was, in 1579, obliged to set sail with only a few of his friends; and, after various misfortunes at sea, returned with the loss of one of his ships in an engagement with the Spaniards, in which Mr. Raleigh was exposed to great danger.

The next year, 1580, upon the descent of the Spanish and Italian forces into Ireland, under the pope's banner, for the support of the Desmonds in rebellion in the province of Munster, he obtained a cap-

captain's commission ; where, under the command of Thomas earl of Ormond, governor of Munster, he surprised the Irish Kerns at Rakele, and having inclosed them took every rebel upon the spot ; among them was one loaded with withies, who being asked, What he intended to have done with them ? rudely answered, To have hung up the English churls ; upon which captain Raleigh said, they should now serve for an Irish Kern, and ordered him to be hanged immediately. He assisted likewise at the siege of Fort Del Ore, which the Spanish succours under San Josepho, their commander, assisted by their Irish confederates, had built and fortified as a place of retreat. The lord-deputy himself besieged this fort by land ; Sir William Winter, the admiral, attacked it by sea ; and captain Raleigh commanded in the trenches ; it was, however, obliged to surrender at discretion, on the 9th of November 1580 ; when, by order of the lord-deputy, the greatest part of the garrison were put to the sword, the execution of which fell to the share of the captains Raleigh and Mackworth, who first entered the castle.

During the winter of this year, captain Raleigh had his quarters assigned him at Corke ; when observing the seditious practices of David lord Barry, and other ringleaders of the rebellion in those parts, to distress the peaceable, and to excite the disaffected to an insurrection, he took a journey to Dublin, and remonstrated to the lord-deputy on the dangerous consequences of these practices in so strong a manner, that his lordship gave him full commission to seize the lands of lord Barry, and to reduce him to peace and subjection by such means as he should think proper ; for which purpose, he was furnished with a party of horse. But during this interval, that lord himself burnt the castle to
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the ground, though it was his principal seat, and laid waste the country round it with greater outrage and destruction, than even the zeal of his enemies would have extended to.

Captain Raleigh, in his return to Cork, was attacked by Fitz-Edmonds, an old rebel of Barry's faction, at a fort between Youghal and Cork. He was inferior to Fitz-Edmonds in number, yet he forced his way through the enemy, and got over the river. But a gentleman of his company being by some accident thrown into the middle, between the fear of drowning and being taken, called out to the captain for help; who, though he had escaped both dangers, yet ventured into them again to rescue his companion, who in the haste and confusion of remounting, over-leaped his horse, and fell down on the other side into a deep mire, where he must have been suffocated, if the humane Raleigh had not recovered him a second time, and brought him to land. He now waited on the opposite bank, with a staff in one hand and a pistol in the other, for the rest of his company, who were yet to cross the river; but though Fitz-Edmonds had got a recruit of twelve men, yet finding captain Raleigh stand his ground, he only exchanged a few rough words with him, and retired.

In 1581, the earl of Ormond going to England, his government of Munster was given to captain Raleigh, in commission with Sir William Morgan and captain Peers. Raleigh resided for some time at Lismore; but afterwards, returning with his little band of eighty foot and eight horse to his old quarters at Cork, he received intelligence that Barry was at Cove with several hundred men: upon which he resolved to pass through that town, and offer him combat; and accordingly, at the town's-end, he met Barry with his forces, whom he charged

with prodigious bravery, and put to flight. As he pursued his journey, he overtook another company of the enemy in a plain by a wood side, whom he likewise attacked, though he had only six horsemen with him, expecting probably that his company would soon join him. But the rebels, who had greatly the advantage of numbers, being cut off from the wood, and having no other relief, faced about, and fought very desperately, killing five of the horses belonging to Raleigh's company, and among these his own. He was in extreme danger himself of being over-powered by numbers, if his servant Nicholas Wright had not interposed; who perceiving his master's horse mortally wounded with darts, encountered six of the enemy at once, and killed one of them; while Patrick Fagaw, one of his soldiers, rescued Raleigh, after it had been unsuccessfully attempted by James Fitz-Richard, who was then over-powered by the enemy. Raleigh seeing this, he would not suffer Wright to fight by him any longer; but ordered him to assist Fitz Richard, which he immediately did, by rushing into the throng of the enemy, and dispatching him who pressed upon Fitz-Richard, he rescued the latter from the most imminent danger. In this sharp skirmish many of the rebels perished, and two were carried prisoners to Cork, where Raleigh performed several other signal services, for which he received a grant from the crown of a large estate in Ireland. But a misunderstanding between Raleigh and lord Grey, the lord-deputy of Ireland, prevented his rising in the army; and therefore, when the rebels were reduced, he followed lord Grey to England, where pursuing his disputes with that nobleman, the subject of their contest, which was kept a profound secret, was heard before the privy council; and though particulars did not transpire,

spire, it is on record, that Raleigh defended his cause with so much eloquence and ability, that it greatly recommended him, and served, with his other accomplishments, to introduce him to the notice of the court.

But Raleigh, not content with the smiles of courtiers, was very attentive to gain the royal favour; and an opportunity soon offered, which shewed that gallantry was not the least of the necessary qualifications he possessed for pushing his fortune at court. The queen taking the air, in a walk, stopped at a flashy place, in doubt whether to go on; when Raleigh, dressed in a gay and genteel habit of the times, immediately cast off, and spread his new plush-cloak on the ground; on which her majesty, gently treading, was conducted over clean and dry. This adventure, joined to a handsome person, a polite address, and ready wit, could not fail to recommend him to a female sovereign. Accordingly, coming to court soon after, and meeting with a reception which seemed to favour his ambition, he took an opportunity of writing with a diamond upon a window, in a conspicuous manner, the following line—

“Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;”

which the queen elegantly turned to a couplet, which contained a hint, that, if he did not rise, it would be his own fault:

“If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.”

After such a poetic challenge, it is no wonder Raleigh made such a rapid progress in her majesty's favour, a proper introduction being all he wanted, his merit insuring future success.

In 1582, he was one of those persons of distinction who by the queen's command accompanied the duke of Anjou to the Netherlands; and, on his return, he brought letters from the prince of Orange to her majesty. In 1583, he engaged in a second expedition with his brother Sir Humphry Gilbert, to Newfoundland; but having been two or three days at sea, a contagious distemper seized his whole crew, and he was obliged to return to port. However, by this accident, he escaped the misfortunes of that expedition in which Sir Humphry, after having taken possession of Newfoundland in right of the crown of England, in his return home, unfortunately perished. But ill-success could not divert Raleigh from a scheme, which he thought was of such importance to his country. He therefore drew up an account of its advantages, and laid it before the queen and council, who were so well satisfied with it, that her majesty granted him letters patent in favour of his project; 'containing free liberty to discover such remote heathenish and barbarous lands, as were not actually possessed by any Christian, or inhabited by Christian people.'

Immediately upon this grant, captain Raleigh fitted out two vessels, which reached the gulph of Florida the beginning of July. They sailed along the shore about one hundred and twenty miles, and at last debarked on a low land, which proved to be an island called Wokoken. After taking a formal possession of this country in the name of the queen, he carried on a friendly correspondence with the natives, who supplied them with provisions, and gave them furs and deer-skins in exchange for trifles. Thus encouraged, eight of their crew went twenty miles up the river Occam, and next day came to an island called Roanok, the residence of
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the Indian chief, whose house was built of cedar, and fortified round with sharp pieces of timber. His wife came out to them, and ordered her people to carry them from the boat on their backs, and shewed them many civilities to express her friendly intentions towards them, in the absence of her husband. After having gained the best information they could of the strength of the Indian nations, and of their connections, alliances, and contests with each other, they returned to England, and made such an advantageous report of the fertility of the soil, and healthfulness of the climate, that the queen favoured the design of settling a colony in that country, to which she gave the name of Virginia.

About two months after captain Raleigh's return, in 1584, he was chosen knight of the shire for his native county of Devon; and the same year, the queen, who was extremely cautious and frugal in bestowing of honours, as a distinguishing token of her favour conferred on him that of knighthood. Her Majesty, at the same time, granted him a patent to license the vending of wines by retail throughout the kingdom; which was, in all probability, a very lucrative one. And this is the origin of wine-licences.

Sir Walter was so intent upon planting his new colony in Virginia, that, in 1585, he sent out a fleet of seven sail, under the command of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, a gentleman who acquired the highest degree of reputation both in the land and sea-service, and died in the bed of honour, of a wound received on board his ship, in an engagement with the Spaniards in 1591. Sir Richard, upon his landing, sent a deputation to the king of the Indians, whose name was Wingina, and who resided at Roanok, requesting permission to establish
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a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, and to visit the country; which being granted, he went with a select company to view several Indian towns, and was civilly treated; but at one of them, an accident happened, which greatly disconcerted his plan. An Indian stole a silver cup, which Sir Richard's people resented by setting fire to the town, and destroying the corn in the fields: for this rash action, the Indian king threatened to fall upon the English with their whole force; but, by a timely submission and some presents, the affair was terminated amicably: and Sir Richard, after leaving one hundred and seven persons to settle the colony of Virginia, set sail for England; and, on his passage, he took a Spanish prize, estimated at 50,000 l.

This was not the only circumstance of good fortune which happened to Sir Walter this year. The rebellion in Ireland being now totally suppressed, her Majesty granted him twelve thousand acres of the forfeited lands; and this great estate he planted at his own expence.

Sir Walter, encouraged by this noble grant, fitted out a third fleet for Virginia; where the colony, having suffered great distresses, had procured a passage to England by Sir Francis Drake, who had visited it in his return from his conquest of St. Domingo, Carthagená, and St. Augustine. Raleigh, in the spring of the year, had sent a ship of one hundred tons to the succour of his new colony; but not arriving before the people had left it, she returned with all her lading to England.

About fifteen days after, Sir Richard Grenville arrived at Virginia with three ships more, well stored, for the company of planters which he had left there in 1585; but, finding neither them, nor the last-mentioned ship, Sir Richard, unwilling to lose

lose the possession of so fine a country, landed fifteen men on the island of Roanok, leaving them provisions for two years, then set sail for England, and, in his return, took some Spanish prizes.

About this time, Sir Walter Raleigh was concerned in other plans, for the improvement of the navigation and commerce of his country; particularly in captain Davis's expedition, for discovering the North-west passage; on which account a promontory in Davis's Streights is called MOUNT RALEIGH. To indemnify him, in some measure, for the expence of these patriotic undertakings, the queen gave him additional grants of land, and farther emoluments on his wine-licences.

The latter end of the year 1586, her majesty made him seneschal of the duchies of Cornwall and Exeter, and lord-warden of the stannaries in Devonshire and Cornwall. But these preferments exposed him to the envy of those who were much his inferiors in merit; and even the earl of Leicester, who had once been his friend, grew jealous of him, and set up, in opposition to him, his nephew, the young earl of Essex. But neither the factions of the court, nor the aspersions of the people, whom Raleigh could never condescend to flatter, could deter him from attending to the duties of his several employments.

In the year 1587, Sir Walter prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men for Virginia; appointing Mr. John White governor, and with him twelve assistants; and incorporated them by the name of "The Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh in Virginia."

On their arrival at Hattarafs, the governor dispatched a strong party to Roanok, expecting to find the fifteen men that were left there; but they sought them in vain. They afterwards found that

several of them had been murdered by the savages, and the rest driven to a remote part of the country. This new colony having entered into an alliance with the natives, considered that they should want fresh supplies of provisions; and, wanting an agent to go to England, prevailed on their governor to undertake that office, who returned with his ships in the latter end of the year.

Sir Walter, solicitous for the safety of the colony, prepared a fleet to assist them; but the apprehensions of an invasion from Spain, in 1588, prevented their sailing; so that governor White could only obtain two small pinnaces, which had the misfortune to be so thoroughly rifled by the enemy, that they were obliged to return back without performing the voyage, to the distress of the planters abroad, and the great regret of their patron at home.

About this time, Sir Walter was advanced to the post of captain of her majesty's guard, and was one of the council of war appointed to consider of the most effectual methods for the security of the nation; upon which occasion he drew up a scheme which was a proof of his judgment and abilities. But he did not confine himself to the mere office of giving advice; he raised and disciplined the militia of Cornwall; and, having performed all possible services at land, joined the fleet with a squadron of volunteers, and had a considerable share in the total defeat of the Spanish Armada; when his merit, upon so important a crisis, justly raised him still higher in the queen's favour, who now made him gentleman of her privy chamber.

In 1589, Don Antonio, king of Portugal, being expelled from his dominions by Philip II. of Spain, queen Elizabeth contributed six men of war, and threescore thousand pounds, in order to reinstate him,

him, and encouraged her subjects to concur in that design. Sir Walter Raleigh, with Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris, accompanied that prince to Portugal; and, in this expedition, took a great number of hulks belonging to the Hans-towns, laden with Spanish goods, provisions, and ammunition, for a new invasion of England: and his conduct in the whole affair was so satisfactory to her majesty, that she honoured him, as well as the other commanders, with a gold chain.

Raleigh had now formed a design against the Spaniards in the West-Indies, in order to intercept the Plate-fleet, and fitted out a maritime force for that purpose, consisting of thirteen ships of his own and fellow-adventurers; to which the queen added two men of war, the *Garland* and *Forefight*, giving him a commission as general of the fleet, the post of lieutenant-general being conferred on Sir John Burgh.

He set sail in February, 1592; but the winds proved so contrary, that he could not leave the coast of England till the 6th of May; and the next day Sir Martin Frobisher followed and overtook him with the queen's letters to recall him; but, imagining his honour engaged in the undertaking, he pursued his course, though he was informed that the king of Spain had ordered that no ships should sail that year, nor any treasure be brought from the West-Indies. However, on the 11th of May, meeting with a storm off Cape Finisterre, he divided his fleet into two squadrons, committing one to Sir John Burgh, and the other to Sir Martin Frobisher, with orders to the latter, to lie off the South-cape, to keep in and terrify the Spaniards on their coasts, while the former lay at the Azores for the carracks from the East-Indies; and then returned home.

The success of these directions was answerable to the excellent judgment that formed them ; for the Spanish admiral, collecting his whole naval power to watch Frobisher, left the carracks unguarded ; and the Madre de Dios, then esteemed the richest prize ever brought to England, was seized by Sir John Burgh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's enemies, envious of his prevailing influence over the queen, employed every means to work his disgrace. Tarleton, a comedian, was encouraged by Essex and his party, to introduce into his part in a play, at which the queen was present, an allusion to Sir Walter, comparing him to the knave, which in certain games at cards " governs the queen : " her majesty however, was highly displeased, and forbade Tarleton, and all her jesters, to approach her table. In the next place, as his religious tenets were not strictly orthodox, and he had rendered himself obnoxious to the clergy by his being in possession of some church lands, granted to him by the queen ; a libel was published against him at Lyons, by one Parsons, a jesuit, aspersing him with being an Atheist, on account of his tract, intituled " The School of Atheists ; " in which Sir Walter only attacks the old school divinity. But the queen was made to believe that it was an impious performance, which reflected dishonour on her father's memory ; upon which she chided him severely ; and he was ever after branded with the title of Atheist.

Soon after, another incident had well nigh ruined him for ever in the queen's esteem. He had seduced the daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, one of the queen's maids of honour ; and the natural consequence of the amour discovering the intrigue, her majesty ordered him to be confined for several months, and dismissed the lady from her attendance ;

tendance ; to whom he afterwards made the most honourable reparation he could, by marriage ; in which state they became examples of conjugal affection and fidelity.

While Sir Walter Raleigh was under her majesty's displeasure, he projected the discovery of the extensive empire of Guiana, in South-America, which the Spaniards had then only visited, and to this day have never conquered. Sir Walter having provided a squadron of ships at a very great expence, the lord high admiral Howard, and Sir Robert Cecil, conceived so good an opinion of the design, that they both concurred in it.

He set sail on the 6th of February, 1595, and arrived at the isle of Trinidado on the 22d of March, where he made himself master of St. Joseph, a small city, and made the Spanish governor prisoner. Then, quitting his ship, he, with an hundred men, in several little barks, sailed four hundred miles up the river Oronoque, in search of Guiana ; but the heat of the weather, and the torrents, obliged him to return, which he did the latter end of the summer.

The following year he was so far restored to favour, that he was engaged in the important expedition to Cadiz ; wherein the earl of Essex, and the lord high-admiral Howard, were joint commanders. On the 20th of June they arrived before Cadiz. The lord high-admiral was of opinion, that the land-forces should attack the town first, that the fleet might not be exposed to the fire of the ships, of the city, and of the adjacent forts ; and the council of war concurred in this opinion. But as the earl of Essex was putting his men into boats, in order to land them, Sir Walter, not happening to have been present at the council of war, went directly to the earl, and offered such convincing reasons against it,

and for their first falling upon the galleons and ships in the harbour, that the earl saw the necessity of altering his scheme, and desired Sir Walter to dissuade the admiral from that of landing. He did so; the admiral was convinced; and, by Sir Walter's advice, deferred the attack till the next day.

For the particulars of this attack, in which Sir Walter Raleigh distinguished himself by his bravery and his prudence, and which was attended with such wonderful success, we must refer our readers to Dr. Birch's account of it. It is sufficient in this place to mention, that the city was taken and plundered, many of the principal ships belonging to the Spaniards were run ashore, and the galleons, with all their treasure, were burnt by the enemy, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English.

Sir Walter continued in a state of personal banishment from the queen's presence till 1597, and then was intirely restored to favour, and performed several other signal services. In 1601, he attended the queen in her progress; and in the last parliament of this reign, he signalized himself, by opposing some bills brought in to oppress the lower classes of the people. But the death of this princess proved a great misfortune to Sir Walter; for her successor, king James I. had been greatly prejudiced against him by the earl of Essex; yet he did not discover his disgust for some time, but treated him with great kindness: however, his majesty's pacific genius could not relish a man with so martial a spirit. He had not been long upon the throne before Sir Walter was dismissed from his post of captain of the guards; and, soon after, was charged with being engaged in a plot against the king, and with carrying on a secret correspondence with the king of

of Spain; but no evidence was produced of his having been engaged in any treasonable act whatever, though he was brought in guilty, and condemned for high treason.

The trial was carried on with the usual rancour by the crown-lawyers, who have often made treason where none was to be found, whenever a state prisoner has rendered himself obnoxious to the sovereign; but his death had been before determined in the cabinet-council.

To the eternal disgrace of his memory, that great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, made use of the grossest abuse in opening the false accusation against our renowned patriot. He stigmatized the great Sir Walter Raleigh with the opprobrious titles of "Traitor, Monster, Viper, and Spider of Hell."

But the true cause of this shameful court-conspiracy against Sir Walter, was the very active part he had taken against the Scotch interest. Apprehensive that his country would be over-run by Scotchmen, and that all the posts of honour and emolument would be engrossed by them, to the exclusion of Englishmen, he had proposed in council, a short time before the death of queen Elizabeth, that the king of the Scots should be tied down, by the strongest contract that could be drawn up, to bring into England only a limited number of his countrymen, upon his accession to the British throne. This proposition was over-ruled, but it was never forgiven by James, and his Scotch minions. And it must be confessed, that Sir Walter did not endeavour to abate their malice by temporizing; on the contrary, when he found that his prophetic fears were realized, and none but Scotchmen countenanced at court, he boldly exclaimed against this partiality in their favour; and thus he wrought his own disgrace.

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But even thus circumstanced, his ruin would not have been completed, if there had not been found two degenerate Englishmen base enough to forward their designs upon the life of this great man. One of these was Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, induced to it by motives of jealousy: for he knew that Raleigh's political talents might one day or other render his services so essentially necessary to the king and to the nation, that he must be brought into administration, and supplant him. The other was Coke, the attorney-general, who appears to have been Sir Walter's enemy by profession, and to have considered the blackening his character as a recommendation to the first vacancy upon the bench. Yet, after sentence was passed, the cowardly court durst not proceed to execution, so great was the love and veneration of the people for the hero of his country; and therefore he was reprieved at Winchester, where he was tried, and remanded to the Tower, where not long after his confinement, upon the unwearied solicitations of his lady, who petitioned the king that she might be prisoner with him, he was allowed the consolation of her company, and his younger son Carew was born there in 1604.

The king soon after granted him his forfeited estate, for the benefit of his wife and children; but this was only for his own life, for he had, on his resolving to accept of a challenge from Sir Amias Preston some years before, made it over to his eldest son; who, notwithstanding, derived no benefit from the reversion; for Robert Car, the king's new favourite, having no real estate belonging to his own obscure family, cast his eyes upon the lands of Raleigh; and by the assistance of his friend Coke, the attorney-general, he soon discovered a flaw in the conveyance; upon which, an information be-
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ing exhibited in the exchequer, judgment was given for the crown. The grant to Sir Walter for life was made void; and Sherborne, and other of his estates, were given to Car in 1609, the king being inflexible to all the petitions of the lady Kaleigh, on behalf of herself and her children.

Sir Walter Raleigh softened the rigours of his long confinement, by an application to various kinds of studies, particularly in writing his well-known and admired History of the World. He also amused himself in practical chemistry, making many useful experiments; the result of which was a discovery of an excellent remedy for malignant fevers, long known under the name of Raleigh's Cordial, but now totally laid aside, from doubts concerning the authenticity of the recipe for composing it.

But, though he had the queen's protection, and prince Henry for his patron, during the height of the earl of Somerset's favour, yet he could not obtain his liberty till after the condemnation of that favourite, for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. At length, by means of fifteen hundred pounds given to a relation of the new favourite Sir George Villiers, he procured his liberty, in March 1616, after above twelve years confinement in the Tower.

Sir Walter, being now at large, had an opportunity of prosecuting his old scheme of settling Guiana, and his majesty granted him a patent for that purpose, at least under the privy-seal, if not under the great-seal of England; which Sir Francis Bacon, on being applied to, assured him implied a pardon for all that was past, as the king had made him admiral of his fleet, and given him the power of martial law over his officers and soldiers.

The whole expence of this expedition was defrayed by Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends. In their passage, they met with various disappointments;

ments ; however, in November, they came in sight of Guiana, and anchored five degrees off the river Caliana.

Here Raleigh was received with the utmost joy by the Indians, who offered him the sovereignty of the country, which he declined. His extreme sickness preventing his attempting the discovery of the mines in person, he deputed captain Keymis to that service, ordering five ships to sail into the river Oronoque ; but, three weeks after, landing by night nearer a Spanish town than they expected, they were set upon by the Spanish troops, who were prepared for their reception.

This unexpected attack soon threw them into confusion ; and, had not some of the leaders animated the rest, they had all been cut to pieces : but the others, by their example, soon rallying, they made such a vigorous opposition, that they forced the Spaniards to retreat.

In the warmth of the pursuit, the English found themselves at the Spanish town before they knew where they were. Here the battle was renewed, and they were assaulted by the governor himself, and four or five captains at the head of their companies, when captain Raleigh, the eldest son of Sir Walter, hurried on by the heat and impatience of youth, not waiting for the musketeers, rushed forward, at the head of a company of pikes, and, having killed one of the Spanish captains, was shot by another. But pressing still forward with his sword upon the captain who had shot him, the Spaniard, with the butt-end of his musket, felled him to the ground, and put an end to his life ; when his serjeant immediately thrust the Spanish captain through the body with his halbert. Two other captains, and the governor himself, fell in this engagement.

The

The Spanish leaders being all thus dispatched, the private men fled. Some took shelter about the market-place, from whence they killed and wounded the English at pleasure; so that there was no way left for safety but by firing the town, and driving the enemy to the woods and mountains.

Captain Keymis had now an opportunity of visiting the mine, which he attempted with captain Thornhurst, Mr. W. Herbert, Sir John Hamden, and others; but, upon their falling into an ambuscade, in which they lost many of their men, they returned to Sir Walter, without discovering the mine, alleging the reason mentioned above.

As some mitigation of their ill success, and as an inducement to farther hopes, Keymis produced two ingots of gold, which they had found in the town, together with a large quantity of papers found in the governor's study. Among these were four letters, which discovered not only Raleigh's whole enterprize to have been betrayed, but his life hereby put into the power of the Spaniards. These letters also discovered the preparations made by the Spaniards to receive Raleigh.

To the just indignation which he conceived upon this occasion, was added the mortification of finding that Keymis had not proceeded to the mine. He reproached that captain with having undone him, and wounded his credit with the king past recovery. This affected Keymis so sensibly, that he retired to his cabin, where he shot himself; but, finding the wound not mortal, he dispatched himself with a knife, which he thrust into his heart.

The ill state of Sir Walter's health would not suffer him to repair Keymis's neglect. He was incapable of such a voyage, and, at the same time, was in continual apprehension of being attacked by the Spanish Armada, sent out on purpose to lay
wait

wait for and destroy him; but the enemy missed him, by staying in the wrong place.

To the eternal dishonour of James I. let it be recorded, that to his shameful duplicity, and dastardly fears, the honour of the nation, the success of the expedition, the lives of many brave men, and the military reputation of Raleigh, were sacrificed. For while he encouraged Raleigh, by granting him a special commission for this enterprise, he not only disavowed it by his ministers to the Spanish ambassadors, but, as a proof that he did not wish well to the design, he suffered them to give the ambassador the particulars of Raleigh's force and destination; which being forwarded to the court of Spain, occasioned the vast preparations that he found ready on his arrival, to oppose him. Sir Walter could not forbear reproaching the court for this infamous conduct, in a letter from St. Christopher's, to the secretary of state; and this determined the ministry to take him off, as the only method of extinguishing the hopes of the people, who wished for a war with Spain.

Accordingly, on Sir Walter's return home, he found that king James had published a proclamation, declaring his detestation of his conduct, asserting, that his majesty had, by express limitation, restrained and forbade Raleigh from attempting any act of hostility against his dear brother of Spain; yet it is evident, that the commission contained no such limitation.

This proclamation, however, did not deter Sir Walter from landing at Plymouth, in July 1618, being resolved to surrender himself into the king's hands, to whom he wrote a letter in defence of himself. But he was arrested on the road to London by Sir Lewis Stewkeley, vice-admiral of Devonshire, and his relation, who acted a most base
and

and treacherous part, after his arrival with his prisoner at London. For, Sir Walter being allowed to remain a prisoner at his own house, Stewkeley continually informed him how greatly the court was exasperated against him, by the complaints of Gondemar the Spanish ambassador. He hinted, that his life was at stake, and then countenanced, if he did not suggest the design Raleigh had now formed of making his escape to France, which he afterwards attempted; but being betrayed all along by Stewkeley, he was seized in a boat below Woolwich, and, on the 10th of August, was committed to the Tower.

But though his death had been absolutely resolved upon, yet it was not easy to find a method to compass it, since his conduct in his late expedition could not be stretched in law to such a sentence. It was resolved therefore to sacrifice him to Spain, (in a manner that has justly exposed the court to the abhorrence of all succeeding ages) by calling him down to judgment on his former sentence, passed fifteen years before. Thus, by a strange contrariety of proceedings, he, who had been condemned for being a friend to the Spaniards, now lost his life for being their enemy.

In consequence of this resolution, having the day before received notice to prepare himself for death, he was, on the 28th of October, taken out of his bed, in the hot fit of an ague, and carried to the King's-Bench bar, at Westminster, where the chief-justice, Sir Henry Montague, ordered the record of his conviction and judgment in 1603 to be read; and then demanded, What he had to offer why execution should not be awarded against him? To this Sir Walter pleaded his commission for his last voyage, which implied a restoring life to him, by giving him power, as marshal, on the life and death
of

of others. He then began to justify his conduct in that voyage; but the court refused to hear him, and execution was instantly awarded; and a warrant produced for it to take place the next day; which had been signed and sealed before-hand, that no delay might arise from the king's absence, who retired into the country the day before he was arraigned. And on the very next day, though it was the lord-mayor's day, being the 29th of October, 1618, Sir Walter was conducted from the prison of the Gatehouse (where he had been lodged overnight) by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, to a scaffold erected in Old Palace-yard, Westminster.

He had eaten his breakfast heartily that morning, smoked his pipe, and made no more of death than if he had been to take a journey. He ascended the scaffold with a chearful countenance, and saluted the lords, knights, and gentlemen, there present. After which, a proclamation was made for silence; and he addressed himself to the people in this manner:

“I desire to be borne withal, for this is the third day of my fever; and, if I shall shew any weakness, I beseech you to attribute it to my malady, for this is the hour in which it is wont to come.”

Then pausing a-while, he sat, and directed himself towards a window, where the lords of Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaster, with some other lords and knights, sat, and spoke as followeth:

“I thank God, of his infinite goodness, that he hath brought me to die in the light, and not in darknes.” But, by reason that the place where the lords, &c. sat, was some distance from the scaffold, that he perceived they could not well hear him, he said, “I will strain my voice, for I would willingly have your honours hear me.”

But

But lord Arundel said, "Nay, we will rather come down to the scaffold;" which he and some others did. Where being come, he saluted them severally, and then continued his speech.

"As I said, I thank God heartily, that he hath brought me into the light to die; and that he hath not suffered me to die in the dark prison of the Tower, where I have suffered a great deal of misery and cruel sickness; and I thank God, that my fever hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed to God it might not. There are two main points of suspicion that his majesty, as I hear, hath conceived against me, wherein his majesty cannot be satisfied, which I desire to clear up, and to resolve your lordships of:

"One is, That his majesty hath been informed, that I have often had plots with France; and his majesty hath good reason to induce him thereunto. One reason that his majesty had to conjecture so, was, that, when I came back from Guiana, being come to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go in a bark to Rochelle; which was, for that I would have made my peace before I had come to England.

"Another reason was, That upon my flight, I did intend to fly into France, for the saving of myself, having had some terror from above.

"A third reason, that his majesty had reason to suspect, was, The French agent's coming to me. Besides, it was reported, that I had a commission from the French king at my going forth. These are the reasons that his majesty had, as I am informed, to suspect me.

"But this I say, for a man to call God to witness to a falsehood at the hour of death, is far more grievous and impious; and that a man that so doth cannot have salvation, for he hath no time
for

for repentance. Then what shall I expect, that am going instantly to render up my account? I do therefore call God to witness, as I hope to be saved, and as I hope to see him in his kingdom, which I hope I shall within this quarter of this hour, I never had any commission from the French king, nor ever saw the French king's hand-writing in all my life; neither knew I that there was a French agent, nor what he was, till I met him in my gallery, at my lodging, unlooked for. If I speak not true, O Lord, let me never enter into thy kingdom.

“ The second suspicion was, That his Majesty had been informed, that I should speak dishonourably and disloyally of my sovereign. But my accuser was a base Frenchman, and a runnagate fellow; one that hath no dwelling; a kind of chymical fellow; one that I knew to be perfidious: for, being by him drawn into the action of accusing myself at Winchester, in which I confess my head was touched, he, being sworn to secrecy over-night, revealed it the next morning.

“ But this I speak now, what have I to do with kings? I have nothing to do with them, neither do I fear them; I have only now to do with my God, in whose presence I stand; therefore to tell a lie, were it to gain the king's favour, were vain. Therefore, as I hope to be saved at the last judgment-day, I never spoke disloyally, or dishonestly, of his majesty in all my life; and therefore I cannot but think it strange that that Frenchman, being so base and mean a fellow, should be so far credited as he hath been. I have dealt truly, as I hope to be saved; and I hope I shall be believed. I confess I did attempt to escape; I cannot excuse it, but it was only to save my life. And I do likewise confess, that I did feign myself to be indisposed

disposed and sick at Salisbury; but I hope it was no sin, for the prophet David did make himself a fool, and suffered spittle to fall down upon his beard, to escape from the hands of his enemies, and it was not imputed unto him: so, what I did, I intended no ill, but to gain and prolong time until his majesty came, hoping for some commiseration from him. But I forgive this Frenchman, and Sir Lewis Stewkeley, with all my heart; for I have received the sacrament this morning of Mr. dean of Westminster, and I have forgiven all men; but, that they are perfidious, I am bound in charity to speak, that all men may take heed of them.

“Sir Lewis Stewkeley, my keeper and kinsman, hath affirmed, that I should tell him, that my lord Carew, and my lord of Doncaster here, did advise me to escape; but I protest, before God, I never told him any such thing; neither did the lords advise me to any such matter; neither is it likely that I should tell him any such thing of two privy-counsellors; neither had I any reason to tell him, or he to report it; for it is well known, he left me six, seven, eight, nine, and ten days together alone, to go whither I listed, whilst he rode himself about the country.

“He farther accused me, that I should shew him a letter, whereby I did signify unto him, that I would give him ten thousand pounds for my escape; but God cast my soul into everlasting fire, if I made any such proffer of ten thousand pounds, or one thousand: but, indeed, I shewed him a letter, that, if he would go with me, there should be order taken for his debts when he was gone; neither had I ten thousand pounds to give him; for, if I had had so much, I could have made my peace with it better another way, than in giving it to Stewkeley.

“Farther,

“Farther, when I came to Sir Edward Pelham’s house, who had been a follower of mine, and who gave me good entertainment, he gave out, that I had received some dram of poison; when I answered him, I feared no such thing, for I was well assured of them in the house, and therefore wished him to have no such thought. Now God forgive him, for I do; and I desire God to forgive him. I will not say, God is a God of revenge; but I desire God to forgive him, as I do desire to be forgiven of God.”

Then looking over his note of remembrance, “Well,” said he, “thus far have I gone; a little more, a little more, and I will have done by and by.

“It was told the king that I was brought per force into England, and that I did not intend to come again; but Sir Charles Parker, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Leake, and divers, know how I was dealt withal by the common soldiers, which were one hundred and fifty in number, who mutinied, and sent for me to come into the ship to them, for unto me they would not come; and there I was forced to take an oath, that I would not go into England till that they would have me; otherwise they would have cast me into the sea; and therewithal they drove me into my cabin, and bent all their forces against me.

“Now, after I had taken this oath, with wine and other things, such as I had about me, I drew some of the chieftest to desist from their purposes; and, at length, I persuaded them to go into Ireland; which they were willing unto, and would have gone into the north parts of Ireland; which I dissuaded them from, and told them that they were Red-shanks that inhabited there; and with much ado I persuaded them to go into the south parts

parts of Ireland, promising them to get their pardons, and was forced to give them one hundred and twenty-five pounds at Kinsale, to bring them home, otherwise I had never got from them.

“ I hear likewise there was a report that I meant not to go to Guiana at all, and that I knew not of any mine, nor intended any such thing or matter, but only to get my liberty, which I had not the wit to keep.

“ But I protest it was my full intent, and for gold ; for gold, for the benefit of his majesty and myself, and of those that ventured and went with me, with the rest of my countrymen ; but he that knew the head of the mine would not discover it, when he saw my son was slain, but made away with himself.”

Then turning to the earl of Arundel, he said, “ My lord, being in the gallery of my ship, at my departure, I remember your honour took me by the hand, and said, You would request one thing of me ; which was, That, whether I made a good voyage or a bad, I should not fail but to return again into England ; which I then promised you, and gave you my faith I would ; and so I have.” To which my lord answered, “ It is true, I do very well remember it : they were the very last words I spake unto you.”

“ Another slander was raised of me, That I would have gone away from them, and left them at Guiana. But there was a great many worthy men that accompanied me always ; as my serjeant-major, George Raleigh, and divers others, which knew my intent was nothing so.

“ Another opinion was held of me, that I carried with me to sea sixteen thousand pieces, and that was all the voyage I intended, only to get money into my hands. As I shall answer it before

God, I had not in all the world in my hands, or others to my use, either directly, or indirectly, above a hundred pounds; whereof, when I went, I gave my wife twenty-five pounds; but the error thereof came, as I perceived, by looking over the scrivener's books, where they found the bills of adventure arising to a great sum, so raised that false report.

“ I will only borrow a little time of Mr. sheriff to speak of one thing, that doth make my heart to bleed to hear that such an imputation should be laid upon me; for it is said, that I should be a persecutor of the death of the earl of Essex; and, that I stood in a window over-against him, when he suffered, and puffed out tobacco in disdain of him. God I take to witness, I shed tears for him when he died; and, as I hope to look God in the face hereafter, my lord of Essex did not see my face when he suffered, for I was afar off in the Armory, where I saw him, but he saw not me.

“ I confess indeed I was of a contrary faction; but I knew my lord of Essex was a noble gentleman, and that it would be worse with me when he was gone, for I got the hate of those which wished me well before, and those that set me against him afterwards set themselves against me, and were my greatest enemies; and my soul hath many times been grieved that I was not nearer him when he died; because, as I understood afterwards, he asked for me at his death, to have been reconciled unto me. And these be the material points I thought good to speak of; and I am now, at this instant, to render up an account to God; and I protest, as I shall appear before him, this that I have spoken is true; and I hope I shall be believed.”

Our illustrious patriot concluded with desiring the astonished spectators to join with him in prayer
to

to God, "whom," said he, "I have most grievously offended, being a man full of vanity, who have lived a sinful life, in such callings as have been most inducing to it. For I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier; which are all courses of wickedness and vice."

Then proclamation being made, that all men should depart the scaffold, he prepared himself for death; giving away his hat, his cap, and some money, to such as he knew, who stood near him. He next took leave of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and others of his acquaintance; and, amongst the rest, lord Arundel, whom he thanked for his company, and entreated him to desire the king that no scandalous writing to defame him might be published after his death; adding, "I have a long journey to go, and therefore I will take my leave."

Then putting off his doublet and gown, he desired the executioner to shew him the axe; which not being done readily, he said, "I prithee let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?" So it being given unto him, he felt along upon the edge of it; and, smiling, spake unto Mr. sheriff, saying, "This is a sharp medicine, but it is a physician that will cure all diseases." After which, going to and fro upon the scaffold on every side, he entreated the company to pray to God to give him strength.

The executioner kneeling down, asked him forgiveness; and he, laying his hand upon his shoulder, forgave him.

Then being asked which way he would lay himself on the block, he replied, "So the heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lieth." After this, laying his head on the block, on a signal given him by Sir Walter, the executioner

cutioner beheaded him at two blows, his body never shrinking nor moving. His head was shewn on each side of the scaffold, and then put into a red leather bag, and his velvet night-gown being thrown over it, it was afterwards conveyed away in a mourning-coach of his lady's.

His body was interred in the chancel of St. Margaret's church, Westminster; but his head was preserved in a case by his widow, who survived him twenty-nine years.

Thus fell the brave Sir Walter Raleigh, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, a sacrifice to a contemptible administration, and the resentment of a mean prince; a man of an extensive genius, capable of vast enterprises, and from his earliest appearance in public life, to the last stage of it, a firm and active patriot. His character was a combination of almost every eminent quality: he was the foldier, statesman, and scholar, united; and, had he lived with the heroes of antiquity, he would have made a just parallel to Cæsar and Xenophon, like them being master of the sword and the pen. So that he was enabled, as a poet beautifully expresses it, to enrich the world with his prison-hours.

Sir Walter Raleigh is considered in a respectable light as an historian; his *History of the World* being to this day held in the highest repute by the ablest critics. It was first published in 1614, in folio, and a second edition was printed in 1617; which circumstance alone is sufficient to refute the idle story of his having written a second part, which he threw into the fire upon the bookseller's telling him that the history, now extant, had sold so slowly, that it had undone him. The true reason why the second and third parts, which he mentions himself, as intended to be composed, were not executed, was his want of leisure, after he undertook
his

His great political and commercial enterprises. The best edition of this capital work of our author is that published by Mr. Oldys in 1736, in two volumes, folio.

Sir Walter wrote several miscellaneous pieces in prose, chiefly political, and some poems. These were originally printed in different forms, but they were collated and published in two volumes, 8vo. in the year 1748.

Notwithstanding it was generally acknowledged in the reign of Charles I. that Sir Walter Raleigh's death was an act of cruel, unjust policy in James I. yet his second and only surviving son, Carew Raleigh, was very ill used by Charles, who obliged him to confirm the title of his father's valuable estate at Sherborne to Sir John Digby, his favourite, whom he created earl of Bristol, and to whom this estate had been given by James I. at the request of Charles, when prince of Wales, after the disgrace of Car, earl of Somerset. And on no other condition would this pious and just prince, as he is styled by some historians, restore Mr. Raleigh in blood, alleging, that he had promised the manor of Sherborne to Digby, when he was prince of Wales, and, now he was king, he was bound to confirm it.

That this was a manifest injustice is evident; for Charles was fully convinced, that Sir Walter Raleigh had not been guilty of high treason, but was put to death on a false accusation; and therefore his estates could not in honour and equity be considered as forfeited to the crown. We may, therefore, place this disposal of Mr. Carew Raleigh's estate at Sherborne, the foremost in the catalogue of arbitrary acts of violence and wrong, committed by that obstinate and misguided monarch.

* * * *Authorities.* Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Fuller's Worthies of Devon. Dr. Birch's Life

Life of Sir Walter, prefixed to his Miscellaneous Works, already mentioned, in two volumes 8vo. Lond. 1748. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Mortimer's History of England, vol. II.

The LIFE of

FRANCIS BACON,

Viscount St. ALBAN's, Baron of VERULAM, and
Lord High Chancellor of ENGLAND.

(A. D. 1561, to 1626.)

F R A N C I S B A C O N, one of the greatest men this or any other country ever produced, whose extensive abilities and amiable character rendered him most worthy of the admiration of his contemporaries, and whose immortal works are a most valuable legacy to his country, was the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper of the great seal in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and of whom the reader will find some memoirs included in the Life of Cecil, lord Burleigh, Vol. II.

He was born at York-house, in the Strand, on the 22d of January, 1561; and his extraordinary genius manifested itself so early, that queen Elizabeth herself, while he was but a boy, took a particular delight in trying him with questions; and
received

received so much satisfaction from the good sense and manliness of his answers, that she was wont to call him, in mirth, "her young lord keeper." Among other smart replies, her majesty having one day asked him, how old he was, he answered readily, "Just two years younger than your majesty's happy reign."

His proficiency in learning was so rapid, that, in the twelfth year of his age, he was entered a student of Trinity-college Cambridge; and went through all his courses there by the time he was sixteen; when his father sent him to Paris, and recommended him to Sir Amias Pawlet, then the queen's ambassador in France; whose esteem and confidence he so entirely gained, that he was soon after entrusted by him with a secret commission to the queen, which he executed to the great satisfaction of her majesty and the ambassador, and then returned to France to finish his travels.

Whilst abroad he did not spend his time, as our young gentlemen usually do, in learning the vices, fopperies, and follies of foreigners, but in studying their constitution of government, their manners and customs, and the characters and views of their princes and ministers; and, in the nineteenth year of his age, he wrote a paper of observations on the then general state of Europe, which is still extant among his works.

During his residence in France, his father died suddenly, without making that separate provision for him which he had intended. This obliged young Bacon to return instantly to his native country, in order to embrace some genteel profession for his support. With his father's reputation and success in view, it is no wonder he fixed on that of the law. We therefore find, that he entered himself of Gray's-Inn, and soon became so eminent in that profession,

that, at the age of twenty-eight, he was appointed by queen Elizabeth her learned counsel extraordinary.

The lord-treasurer Burleigh having married our young gentleman's aunt, he frequently applied to him for some post of honour and emolument under the government, with a view, as he declares, "to procure the greater assistance to his capacity and industry in perfecting his philosophical designs." But Burleigh never got any thing for him, except the reversion of the office of register to the Star-chamber, then reckoned worth one thousand six hundred pounds a year, which did not fall to him till near twenty years afterwards; and, as he probably thought himself neglected by his uncle, he attached himself strongly to the earl of Essex; which made his cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, his avowed enemy; for, when the earl, a little before his fall, warmly solicited his being made solicitor-general, it was opposed by his cousin, Sir Robert, who represented him to the queen as a man of mere speculation, and more likely to distract her affairs than to serve her usefully and with judgment. Indeed, all the interest of Essex, pursued with the warmest ardour of friendship, was not sufficient to procure for Bacon the office of attorney, or even of solicitor-general, when these places happened to be vacant; so strenuously was his advancement at court opposed by Sir Robert Cecil, whose conversation with the earl of Essex, upon this subject, is preserved by Dr. Birch in his *Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth*.

His anxiety, on account of his scanty circumstances, being increased by this failure of his expectation of preferment, had a very bad effect upon his constitution, which was not naturally robust, and had been greatly impaired by his close application

tion to his studies by night. His disappointment, it is said, affected his health and spirits so much, that he had once resolved to hide his grief and resentment in some foreign country ; but, fortunately for his own, the remonstrances of his friends prevailed against this fatal determination. However, for some time after, he laid aside all thoughts of public life, and applied himself to works of literature and philosophy.

As for the earl of Essex, his unsuccessful patron, he generously made Mr. Bacon a present of Twickenham-park and gardens, which by the earl's indulgence he had often before made use of as a beloved retreat, calculated for study, and the restoration of his health.

But the friendship between these great men, at length, degenerated into cool civility ; and it probably arose from pride and resentment on both sides. Bacon undertook to give advice to a vain, ambitious, impetuous nobleman ; and when he saw, that, had it been followed, it would have greatly benefited the earl, he repented the neglect of it ; while, on the other hand, Essex grew sour and reserved to the friend, who fatigued him with remonstrances against his bad conduct. At length, when Essex was brought to his trial for high treason, Bacon, rather than resign an empty honour, officially appeared and pleaded against him, in his quality of counsel extraordinary to the queen. This conduct has subjected him to the severest censures, and can only be palliated by admitting, that he was obliged to act against him officially, or to lose sight of all future hopes of preferment, by incurring the queen's displeasure.

But there is a charge against him of a deeper dye, which will not so readily admit of any justifiable excuse. And, indeed, it is here necessary to

put in a caveat against any misconception that may arise in the reader's mind, from the exalted character generally given of this rare and singular genius; whom Pope, with some truth, but perhaps too severe a satire, styles—

—The wisest! brightest! meanest of mankind.—

It is as a private man, as a philosopher, and as a most excellent author, that we deem him a bright ornament to his country; not as a courtier, for in that light his conduct was as culpable as that of the present race of intriguers. And this will appear from the following anecdote.

After the death of Essex, the reflections of the people on the prevailing party at court, and even on the queen herself, were so severe and so general, that the administration thought it necessary to vindicate their conduct in an appeal to the public. This odious task was artfully assigned to Bacon, to divert the national resentment from themselves, to a man who could so far prostitute his great abilities, as to employ his pen in the service of the ministry, to blast the character and destroy the surviving fame of his benefactor, who, with all his faults, was the darling of the people. The time-serving pamphlet was called “A Declaration of the Treason of Robert earl of Essex;” but, in fact, it was “a declaration that Francis Bacon wanted to be advanced at court on any terms.” But here again he was disappointed of his reward; and being unable to endure the loss of the public esteem, he was under the necessity to write a counter-piece, intituled, “The Apology of Francis Bacon, in certain Imputations concerning the Earl of Essex;” and this, being considered by the court as a kind of recantation, did him no service in the opinion of
his

his sovereign; so that he remained unprovided for, and did not recover any share of the esteem of his fellow-subjects till the succeeding reign.

He took care, however, privately to ingratiate himself with the Scotch party, and by their means to get his tenders of loyalty and zeal conveyed to king James, who was hardly seated on the throne when he conferred on him the honour of knight-hood.

Sir Francis Bacon now gained a firm footing at court, and his next step was to recover his popularity, for which purpose he prudently embraced a most favourable opportunity.

In the preceding reign the country-people had been greatly oppressed by the royal purveyors, and had complained of their exactions as an intolerable grievance. The affair had been laid before the queen, and some measures had been taken with a view of redressing it; but they had proved ineffectual. The house of commons, therefore, took this business in hand, in the first session of the first parliament, in the reign of James I. And, having agreed to make a solemn representation of this grievance and its pernicious consequences to the throne, they made choice of Sir Francis Bacon, as the properest person to explain to his majesty the sense of the house upon this weighty matter. This trust he discharged intirely to the satisfaction of both prince and people, and thus he was restored to the public favour. The thanks of the house of commons were likewise voted to him on this occasion; but still Sir Robert Cecil opposed his advancement; and he was supported by Sir Edward Coke, attorney-general, who dreaded the full display of Bacon's abilities in the law, and in state affairs. This accounts for his not obtaining the promotion he had so long expected till 1607, when he was appointed solicitor-general.

Sir Francis Bacon, from the date of his entering upon this office, may be considered as a professed courtier, and as a servant strongly attached to his master, whose views he constantly promoted, contrary to his better judgment, and to that spirit of true patriotism, which his country had a right to see exerted, by a man of his talents, in the cause of civil liberty.

The king having nothing so much at heart as the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, upon a plan highly detrimental to the former, it is an indelible reproach to Sir Francis Bacon, that he strained every nerve, exhausting all the powers of argument and eloquence in the house of commons, to carry this point, in which however he failed; the house being already too well convinced of the king's design to govern arbitrarily, by means of a junto of Scotch favourites.

Sir Francis, thus checked once more in his ambitious career, gave more application to the business of his profession. He appeared often in Westminster-hall; and his reputation as a lawyer was so great, that he was engaged in most of the capital causes, and had very extensive practice.

It is likewise observable, that when he had not his advancement at court immediately in view, he undertook the management of affairs in which the people were interested, and served them with zeal and ability. Thus, being employed by the house of commons as their chief manager, at a conference held with the lords, in order to persuade the upper house to concur in an application to the throne, for abolishing the ancient tenures under the crown, and for allowing a certain revenue in lieu thereof, Sir Francis, in his speech, set the matter in so clear a light, that it occasioned the dissolution of the court of wards, which was justly esteemed an
important

important point carried in favour of the liberties of the people.

In 1611, Sir Francis Bacon was appointed a judge of the Marshalsea-court, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Vafavor ; and in 1613, upon the promotion of Sir Henry Hobart to be chief-justice of the Common-pleas, Sir Francis Bacon succeeded him in the office of attorney-general.

In the ensuing session of parliament, an objection was started against his retaining his seat in the house of commons, it being deemed incompatible with the office of attorney-general, whose functions required his frequent attendance in the upper house ; but so great was the regard shewn by the members of the house of commons to Sir Francis, that the objection was over-ruled.

To his great honour, while he held this office, he exerted all his efforts to suppress the vile custom of duelling. And, upon an information exhibited in the star-chamber against Priest and Wright, he delivered so excellent a charge to the court against duels, that the lords of the council, contrary to their usual practice, ordered it to be printed and published, with the decree of the court on the cause.

Sir Francis Bacon's private affairs appear now to have been in a more prosperous situation than at any future period of his life. For the office of attorney-general brought him in 6000*l.* per annum ; and that of register to the star-chamber, which had fallen to him, was worth 1600*l.* to which we must add the rents of his family estates, which by the death of his elder brother came into his possession.

The death of Sir Robert Cecil, and the disgrace of Robert Car, earl of Somerset, likewise removed all obstacles to his attainment of his utmost wishes as a courtier. And the vigour with which he prosecuted

fecuted Somerset, joined to the necessity of having such an able adviser, recommended him to the new favourite, Sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham. It appears, that, in cultivating a strict friendship with the duke, he had the service of his country at heart, for he reproved him upon every occasion, when he thought his conduct was wrong; and the letter of advice, still extant in his works, to this minister, on the duties of his high station, is a strong proof of our former observation, that he had the interest of his country at heart, though he occasionally sacrificed it to the private views of his prince, or to his own ambition.

In 1617, the lord-chancellor Egerton, who had often petitioned the king for leave to resign, on account of his great age and infirmities, at last obtained that favour. He had sat in the court of chancery twenty-one years, and was reputed to be an able lawyer; but, in his official capacity, he had the character of being an abject tool of administration. Sir Francis Bacon constantly had the seals in view, though he had a powerful rival to encounter in Sir Edward Coke; but he took care so artfully to insinuate his own ductility, and influence in the house of commons, at the same time depreciating the character of Sir Edward, who upon more occasions than one had lately shewn himself intractable, and desirous rather to defend the rights of the people than the idle prerogatives of the crown, that the seals were given to him, with the title of lord-keeper. Sir Edward Coke continued chief-justice of the King's bench, to which he had been promoted the year before; but he lost the seals, because he had been remiss in some severe prosecutions that he had been ordered to carry on, at the suit of the crown, against the subject.

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The following year, the new minister, Buckingham, finding Bacon to be a man of his own heart, obtained for him the dignity of lord-high-chancellor; and a peerage, by the title of baron of Verulam, by which title he is chiefly distinguished in the learned world; for which reason we prefer it to the more honourable one of viscount St. Alban's, to which he was advanced in 1620.

Within a few days after the seals had been given to Sir Francis Bacon, the king set out for Scotland; and the lord-keeper, being at the head of the council, in virtue of his office, had the chief management of public affairs. This happened at a very critical juncture, when the proposition for a treaty of marriage between Charles prince of Wales, and an Infanta of Spain, was brought upon the carpet. Bacon, who foresaw the difficulties and inconveniencies that would attend this measure, strongly remonstrated against it to the king, and to Buckingham; but James, who was remarkable for his pride and obstinacy, persisted in this design against all advice and every principle of sound policy for seven years, till the match was abruptly broken off in Spain by the prince of Wales and the duke of Buckingham.

Before his majesty returned, another affair happened, which, though of a private nature, greatly disturbed the lord-keeper. Winwood, one of the secretaries of state, having the interest of Sir Edward Coke at heart, and wishing to bring him into favour with the minister, in opposition to Bacon, prevailed with Sir Edward to give his daughter in marriage to Sir John Villiers, Buckingham's brother, though he had before rejected the alliance with marks of disrespect. Sir Francis Bacon, apprehensive that all his great designs, which he meditated for the good of his country, would be thwarted,

thwarted, and his influence considerably lessened, if Coke was brought into the council, took every possible measure to prevent the match. He wrote to the king, and to the minister, against it, and was so warm upon the occasion, that he incurred the displeasure of both; but especially the latter, who considered it as a very advantageous offer for his brother, the lady being possessed of a very large fortune. But their resentment appears to have been but of short continuance, for it was not long after this event that Bacon was created a peer of the realm.

But though ambition had a great share in the character of lord Verulam, it appears evidently, that philosophy was his ruling passion; for, amidst all the variety and intricacy of the business in which he was necessarily involved as a lawyer and a statesman, he found time to compose and to publish, in 1620, the best-finished and most important, though the least read, of all his philosophical tracts, the *Novum Organum Scientiarum*. This piece is properly a second part of his grand *Instauration of the Sciences*, calculated to promote a more perfect method of exercising our rational faculties, than that before taught in the schools, by exercising the human mind in contemplations on the works of nature and art, and employing it on nobler subjects than abstruse scholastic speculations, which serve only to involve learned men in frivolous controversies and idle disputations.

Lord Verulam sent a copy of this new work to the king; and three copies to Sir Henry Wotton, a gentleman of the first reputation at that time in the learned world; and, as the letters written to the author by the king and by Sir Henry upon this occasion shew the great estimation in which the work was then held, it is highly proper to insert them,

them, with a view of engaging students in philosophy to pay more regard to this work than it generally meets with in the present day.

The King, to the Lord Chancellor.

“ My very good Lord,

“ I have received your letter, and your book, than the which you could not have sent a more acceptable present unto me. How thankful I am for it cannot better be expressed by me, than by a firm resolution I have taken; first, to read it through, with care and attention, though I should steal some hours from my sleep, having otherwise as little spare time to read it, as you had to write it; and then to use the liberty of a true friend, in not sparing to ask you the question in any point whereof I shall stand in doubt: as, on the other part, I will willingly give a due commendation to such places as in my opinion shall deserve it. In the mean time, I can with comfort assure you, that you could not have made choice of a subject more befitting your place, and, your universal and methodical knowledge: and, in the general, I have already observed, that you jump with me, in keeping the mid-way between the two extremes; as also, in some particulars, I have found that you agree fully with my opinion. And so praying God to give your work as good success as your heart can wish, and your labours deserve, I bid you farewell.

Oct. 16, 1620.

“ JAMES R.”

Sir Henry Wotton to the Lord Chancellor.

—“ Your lordship hath done a great and ever-living benefit to all the children of Nature, and to
Nature

Nature herself in her utmost extent of latitude ; who never before had so noble, nor so true an interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your lordship) never so inward a secretary of her cabinet. But of your work, which came but this week to my hands, I shall find occasion to speak more hereafter ; having yet read only the first book thereof, and a few aphorisms of the second. For it is not a banquet that men may superficially taste, and put up the rest in their pockets ; but, in truth, a solid feast, which requireth due mastication. Therefore, when I have once, myself, perused the whole, I determine to have it read, piece by piece, at certain hours, in my domestic college, as an ancient author : for I have learned thus much by it already, that we are extremely mistaken in the computation of antiquity, by searching it backwards ; because, indeed, the first times were the youngest ; especially in points of natural discovery and experience."

Lord Verulam had now attained the full gratification of his wishes. He had triumphed over his competitors at court, and was the subject of general admiration in the learned world : but, alas ! how short-lived do we often find human greatness ! The very next year, king James was forced to call a parliament ; and, as the nation was highly dissatisfied with the conduct both of Buckingham and the chancellor, the house of commons set on foot a strict scrutiny into their conduct. The king wanted money so much, that he could not dissolve them ; but, to divert them from the prosecution of his favourite, Buckingham, the monopolies and illegal patents were all cancelled and recalled by proclamation ; and the court secretly contemned the prosecution of the chancellor ; in consequence of which, he was impeached by the house of commons

mons of corrupt practices, in causes depending before him, as chief judge in equity; so entirely had he lost that great character, which, but seven years before, he had among the commons, when he was attorney-general.

As the court thought that his condemnation and punishment would satisfy the commons, and divert them entirely from the prosecution of Buckingham; but were at the same time afraid that, if he appeared and stood upon his defence, his eloquence, and what he had to offer against the charge, might procure an acquittal; they commanded him not to appear in person, but to send a confession of all he was accused of to the house in writing; which arbitrary command he was so faint-hearted as to comply with, trusting to the king's promise, that he should have a pardon, and a remission of his fine, together with a pension during life. Upon his own confession, he was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds; to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; to be for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment, in the commonwealth; and never to sit again in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

Thus this great man was made the scape-goat, as it often happens, for a higher criminal; and, though he had certainly got a great deal of money by his employments and by his profession, for he was in almost every great cause that happened whilst he was at the bar, yet he had purchased but a very small estate of about six hundred pounds a year; and was so far from having any ready-money, that he was considerably in debt, occasioned by his indulgence to his servants, and by his being cheated and defrauded by them. Nay, his condemnation was chiefly owing to their exactions, and the bribes they had taken whilst he was chancellor; though it
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is plain he was not influenced by them in his decrees, as not one of them was reversed. And, at last, he became sensible of his error with respect to his servants; for, during his prosecution, as he was passing through a room where they were sitting, upon sight of him they all stood up; on which he said, "Sit down, my masters; your rise hath been my fall."

The king soon released him from the Tower, made a grant of his fine to some trustees for his benefit, and settled upon him a pension of one thousand eight hundred pounds a year, out of the broad-seal and alienation-offices. But, as he applied most of his income to the payment of the debts he had contracted when in office, these draw-backs, together with his expences in procuring materials and making experiments in natural philosophy, reduced him to necessitous circumstances, and forced him to make such applications to king James, as prove his great address and perfect knowledge of that prince's disposition. The king, likewise, in a very short time, granted him a full and entire pardon of his whole sentence; but he did not live long to enjoy these favours; for, as he was making some experiments near Highgate, he was suddenly taken ill; and, being carried to the earl of Arundel's house there, he expired, after a week's illness, on the 9th of April, 1626, without any issue by his wife, who was a daughter of alderman Barnham, of London, whom he married when about the age of forty, and with whom he received a plentiful fortune. This lady survived him upwards of twenty years.

He owed his death at last to an excess, not unbecoming a philosopher, in pursuing, with more application than his strength could bear, certain experiments concerning the conservation of bodies.

His remains were buried privately in St. Michael's church, near St. Alban's ; and the spot that contained them lay obscure and undistinguished till a monument was erected to his name and memory, from a principle of gratitude, by Sir Thomas Meautys, who had formerly been in his service, and afterwards by descent came to the possession of a considerable estate. In another country, in a better age, (says Mr. Mallet) his monument would have stood a public proof in what veneration the whole society held a citizen, whose genius did them honour, and whose writings will instruct their latest posterity.

Various are the characters given by different writers of this celebrated man. By some, his faults are extenuated ; and by others, highly aggravated. But all acknowledge, that his great and extraordinary abilities rendered him one of the greatest ornaments of his age and country.

With respect to his failings in his public character, the most charitable construction that can be put upon them is, to allow what is the real truth, and is frequently observable with respect to learned men ; that his application to his studies prevented his attention to the necessary rules for the common conduct of life.

His crime of bribery was the effect of want of regularity in his domestic arrangements. And as to money, like many other eminent philosophers, he disdained to study its value, and therefore despised it ; to which cause all his errors may be ascribed.

However, posterity seem to have accepted his bequest contained in this singular passage of his last will. " For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and the next ages ;" his offence being only slightly recorded,

recorded, in respect to historical truth, while the most ample and grateful tribute is paid to the rare talents he possessed.

And the writer of the British Biography, 8vo. justly observes, “ that the praise of Bacon is founded not upon his skill in this or that particular branch of knowledge, but on his great and comprehensive understanding, which took in almost the whole extent of universal science. And he was so little indebted to the partiality of his countrymen, that his writings appear, for some time at least, to have been more esteemed and admired in foreign countries than in England.”

We have now only to add a concise account of the learned labours of this illustrious philosopher. His earliest production was the First Part of Essays, or Counsels, Civil and Moral; an admirable work: in which our author instructs men in the most useful principles of wisdom and prudence, and teaches them how to acquire what are esteemed the greatest blessings, and how to avoid the evils which are most dreaded in the conduct of human life. These essays were published in 1597.

In 1605, appeared his preparation or introduction to his capital work, in a treatise, “ On the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, divine and human.” The general design of this treatise was, to give a summary account of the stock of knowledge whereof mankind were then possessed; to lay down this knowledge under such natural branches, or scientific divisions, as might most commodiously admit of its farther improvement; to point out its deficiencies, or desiderata; and, lastly, to shew, by examples, the direct ways of supplying this deficiency. After his retirement from public business, he very much enlarged and corrected the original; and, with the assistance of
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some friends, he turned the whole into Latin. This is the edition of 1623, and is properly the first part of his "*Grand Instauration of the Sciences.*"

In 1607, he sent a Latin treatise, intituled, *Cogitata & Visa*, to his friend Dr. Andrews, bishop of Ely, desiring his opinion of it; the same method he took with Sir Thomas Bodley; and the reason of his proceeding in this cautious manner was, that this treatise contained the plan of his *Novum Organum*, or second part of the Instauration of the Sciences. That nothing might be wanting to complete that celebrated work, he laid the plan in this manner before the most able critics of the times, and revised and amended it upon the friendly hints thrown out by them.

In 1610, Sir Francis published a learned, critical tract in Latin, intituled, *De Sapientia Veterum*; On the Wisdom of the Ancients. There have been very few books published, either in this, or in any other nation, which either deserved or met with more general applause than this, and scarcely any that are likely to retain it longer; for, in all this performance, Sir Francis Bacon gave a singular proof of his capacity to please all parties in literature, as he had done by his political conduct, for he then stood fair with all parties in the nation. The admirers of antiquity were charmed with this discourse, which seems expressly calculated to justify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their opponents were no less pleased with a piece, from which they thought they could demonstrate, that the sagacity of a modern genius had found out much better meanings for the ancients than ever were meant by themselves.

In his introduction, he gives an ample and satisfactory account of the reasons which induced him to believe, that, notwithstanding the seeming absurdities

dities in the fabulous histories of the ancients, there was, however, something at the bottom, which deserved to be examined into and enquired after. These observations, which are full of very curious learning, he concludes thus :

“ But the argument of most weight with me is this ; that many of these fables by no means appear to have been invented by the persons who relate and divulge them ; whether Homer, Hesiod, or others : for, if I were assured they first flowed from those latter times, and authors that transmit them to us, I should never expect any thing singularly great or noble from such an origin. But whoever attentively considers the thing, will find that these fables are delivered down and related by those writers, not as matters then first invented and proposed, but as things received and embraced in earlier ages : besides, as they are differently related by writers nearly of the same ages, it is easily perceived, that the relators drew from the common stock of ancient tradition, and varied but in point of embellishment, which is their own ; and this principally raises my esteem of these fables ; which I receive not as the product of the age, or invention of the poets, but as sacred relics, gentle whispers, and the breath of better times, that, from the traditions of more ancient nations, came at length into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks. But if any one shall, notwithstanding this, contend that allegories are always adventitious, or imposed upon the ancient fables, and no way native, or genuinely contained in them, we might here leave him undisturbed in that gravity of judgment he affects, though we cannot help accounting it somewhat dull and phlegmatic ; and, if it were worth the trouble, to proceed to another kind of argument.

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“ Men have proposed to answer two different and contrary ends by the use of parable; for parables serve as well to instruct and illustrate, as to wrap up and envelope; so that, though, for the present, we drop the concealed use, and suppose the ancient fables to be vague, undeterminate things, formed for amusement, still the other use must remain and can never be given up: and every man of any learning must readily allow, that this method of instructing is grave, sober, and exceedingly useful, and sometimes necessary in the sciences, as it opens an easy and familiar passage to the human understanding in all new discoveries that are abstruse, and are out of the road of vulgar opinions.

“ Hence, in the first ages, when such inventions and conclusions of human reason, as are not trite and common, were new and little known, all things abounded with fables, parables, similes, comparisons, and allusions, which were not intended to conceal, but to inform and teach, whilst the minds of men continued rude and unpractised in matters of subtilty or speculation, or even impatient, or in a manner incapable of receiving such things as did not directly fall under and strike the senses: for, as hieroglyphics were in use before writing, so were parables in use before arguments; and, even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice, without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go in the same path, and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor, and allusion.

“ To conclude, the knowledge of the early ages was either great or happy; great, if they by design made this use of trope and figure; happy, if, whilst they had other views, they afforded matter and occasion to such noble contemplations. Let either

be the case, our pains, perhaps, will not be misemployed, whether we illustrate antiquity, or the things themselves. The like, indeed, has been attempted by others; but, to speak ingenuously, their great and voluminous labours have almost destroyed the energy, the efficacy, and grace of the thing; whilst, being unskilled in nature, and their learning no more than that of common-place, they have applied the sense of the parables to certain general and vulgar matters, without reaching to their real purport, genuine interpretation, and full depth.

“For myself, therefore, I expect to appear new in these common things, because, leaving untouched such as are sufficiently plain and open, I shall drive only at those that are either deep or rich.”

All the works of Lord Bacon were collected together, and published at London, in 4to. in 1740, in four volumes, folio; and a very valuable and correct edition of them was also published, in 1765, by Dr. Birch, in five volumes, 4to.

* * * *Authorities.* Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon. Tenison's Baconiana. Mallet's Life of Bacon. Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth. British Biography, 8vo. Vol. IV.

THE LIFE OF
 LANCELOT ANDREWS,
 BISHOP of WINCHESTER.

[A. D. 1555, to 1626.]

THIS eminent divine, equally celebrated for his virtues and his universal learning, the contemporary and intimate friend of the great lord Verulam, whom he survived but a few months, was the son of a sea-faring man, who in the decline of life was chosen master of the Trinity-house at Deptford. He was born in the parish of All-hallows near Tower-hill, in the year 1555; and received the rudiments of his education at the free-school of the company of Coopers in Radcliffe-highway. From thence he was removed to Merchant-Taylors school, where he made a great proficiency in the learned languages under Mr. Mulcaster, who recommended him to Dr. Watts, canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, and archdeacon of Middlesex, who had then lately founded some scholarships at Pembroke-college, Cambridge, the first of which he bestowed on young Andrews. After he had taken the degree of bachelor of arts, he was chosen fellow of his college. In this situation he continued four years, applying himself chiefly to the study of divinity. At the usual time, he

commenced master of arts, and was then chosen catechist of the college, which gave him an opportunity of reading lectures on the Ten Commandments on Saturdays and Sundays, to which great numbers resorted from the other colleges, and likewise young gentlemen and clergymen from the neighbourhood; and as he possessed a graceful address, and a fine delivery, these, added to his abilities, procured him great reputation; the fame of which being circulated by those who attended his divinity-lecture, soon reached the ear of Mr. Hugh Price, the founder of Jesus-college, Oxford, who, without his knowledge, bestowed on him one of the first fellowships in his new institution.

It was his custom, after he had been three years at Cambridge, and he continued it as long as he resided at either of the universities, to make an annual visit to his parents at London; and his father having previous notice, by his desire, used to prepare a private tutor to instruct him in some branch or other of the sciences or arts, not taught in the universities; so that within a few years he had acquired the elements of all arts and sciences, and a competent knowledge of the modern languages. He performed his journies on foot, till he was a batchelor of divinity; and he professed, that even then he would not have rode on horseback, but to avoid the imputation of walking merely to save charges. He never loved or used any games or ordinary recreations; his common exercise and amusement was walking, and he assigned the noblest reason for preferring it to all others; frequently declaring to his companions and friends, that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters and heavens, and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues and uses, was

was to him the most exquisite of all entertainments.

His reputation increasing daily, he was not long without a patron; for Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the North, with great judgment, made choice of him as his chaplain, to attend him in his progress through that part of England; where, by his preaching and private conferences, he became highly useful to government, by converting a number of Roman Catholics to the Protestant faith, and amongst these, several priests.

Such a seasonable service naturally recommended him to Sir Francis Walsingham, then secretary of state; who, being unwilling that such a promising genius should lie concealed and unnoticed in some obscure country village, resolved to provide for him in town; and accordingly, by the strength of his interest, Mr. Andrews was appointed vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and, in a short time after, prebendary and residentiary of St. Paul's, and also prebendary of the collegiate church of Southwell.

Being thus preferred, he distinguished himself as a diligent and excellent preacher; and he read divinity-lectures three days in the week at St. Paul's, during Term-time. Upon the death of Dr. Fulke, he was chosen master of Pembroke-hall, to which college he afterwards became a considerable benefactor. He was next appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to queen Elizabeth, who took great delight in his preaching, and promoted him to the deanery of Westminster in 1601. He was not less esteemed by James I. who gave him the preference to all other divines as a preacher, and made choice of him to answer cardinal Bellarmine, who had attacked, with great vehemence, the king's treatise, intitled, "The Defence of the Right of Kings." His majesty had maintained the doctrine

of regal supremacy over all causes and persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil: it was the proper business of a cardinal to endeavour to confute it; but Bellarmine, ashamed to put his own name to an illiberal performance, ushered it into the world under the name of Matthew Tortus; and Mr. Andrews wittily intitled his reply, which was written in Latin, *Tortura Torti, &c.* The king was so well pleased with this judicious performance, that he rewarded the author with the bishopric of Chichester in 1605; at the same time, he likewise made him lord-almoner, which office he executed in a conscientious, disinterested manner, refusing to make those advantages of his place to which he was legally intitled.

Upon the vacancy of the see of Ely, he was translated to it in 1609; and the same year he was sworn of the king's privy-council in England, as he was afterwards of Scotland, upon attending his majesty to that kingdom.

When he had sat nine years in the see of Ely, he was translated to that of Winchester, and also appointed dean of the Royal chapel. And to his honour it is recorded of him, that these preferments were conferred upon him without any court interest, or solicitations on the part of himself or his friends. It is likewise observed, that though he was a privy-counsellor in times of danger and difficulty, in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. he interfered very little in temporal concerns; but in all affairs relative to the church, and the duties of his function, he was remarkably diligent and active.

A pleasant story is related of this worthy prelate, in Waller's life prefixed to his works, as it is said to have been told by that poet to Dr. Birch, his son-in-law.

Waller

Waller going to see king James at dinner, on the day he had dissolved the parliament, over-heard a very extraordinary conversation between his majesty, bishop Andrews, and Neile bishop of Durham. The two prelates standing behind the king's chair, his majesty asked them, if he could not take his subjects money whenever he wanted it, without the formality of a parliament.—The bishop of Durham, who was a complete court-fycophant, readily answered, “God forbid, Sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.” Whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, “Well, my lord, what say you?” Sir, replied Andrews, I have no skill to judge in parliamentary cases. The king hastily added, “No put-off, my lord, answer me presently.” “Then, Sir,” said he, “I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it” Mr. Waller said, the company were much pleased with this answer, and the king in particular was stuck with the humour of it; for a certain nobleman coming in soon after, his majesty cried out, “Oh! my lord, they say you *lig* (a Scotch word for *lie*) with my lady.” “No, Sir,” said his lordship, in great confusion, “but I like her company, because she has so much wit.” “Why then,” returned the king, maintaining the charge, “do you not *lig* with my lord of Winchester there.”

After a long life of honour and tranquillity, in which he enjoyed the distinguished esteem of three successive sovereigns, the friendship of all men of letters, his contemporaries, and the veneration of all good christians, this pious and learned prelate died at Winchester-house in Southwark, in September, 1626. He was interred in the parish church of St. Saviour, where his executors erected to his memory an handsome monument, of marble

and alabaster, on which is an elegant Latin inscription, by one of his chaplains. Milton also wrote a beautiful elegy on the occasion of his death, in the same language, which is one of the earliest productions of that immortal bard; for he was but seventeen years of age when bishop Andrews died.

Dr. Fuller observes, that king James had so great an awe of, and veneration for bishop Andrews, that in his presence he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himself at other times. His reputation, as a learned man, was well known in foreign countries; for, as he understood a great variety of languages, at least fifteen, and was conversant in the Oriental tongues, he was engaged in an extensive correspondence with all the literati of Europe. Usaubon extols his skill in all kinds of learning; Spanheim styles him a prelate of most acute judgment, and Vossius, in his treatise, *De vitiis sermonis*, give him the character of a man of most accomplished learning.

He was very careful to prefer men of abilities and good moral characters to the ecclesiastical benefices in his gift. And that he might be enabled to form a better judgment of those who were the objects of his choice, he sent for clergymen who had acquired renown for piety and learning, and who were unprovided for, defraying the expences of their journies, and entertaining them hospitably; and if in his private conversations with them, they answered the good report given of them, he bestowed livings upon them as they became vacant. As his fortune increased, so did his liberality and charity; and he particularly delighted in releasing prisoners confined for small debts, or the gaoler's fees; a charity of the most humane and beneficial kind, as well to the individuals as to society; for which a most laudable institution has lately

lately been set on foot in London, by the voluntary subscription of the nobility and gentry. Another circumstance concerning his charities deserves our notice, though we are afraid it will be but seldom imitated in an age, in which ostentation is a prevailing foible. He gave strict charge to such of his servants as were intrusted with the distribution of his bounty, that they should not acknowledge from whence this relief came; but directed, that the receipts they took, as vouchers for their faithful discharge of their trust, should be signed by the persons relieved, as received from an unknown benefactor.

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care and inspection of the bishops of London and Ely. "The person, whose works these are, was from his youth a man of extraordinary worth and note; a man, as if he had been made up of learning and virtue, both of them so eminent in him, that it is hard to judge which had precedence. His virtue, which we must still judge the more worthy in any man, was comparable to that which was to be found in the primitive bishops of the church; and had he lived among those ancient fathers, his virtues would have shined even among those virtuous men. And as for his learning, that was as well, if not better known abroad, than respected at home. And, take him in his latitude, we, which knew him well, knew not any kind of learning to which he was a stranger, but in his profession admirable. None stronger than he, where he wrestled with an adversary; and that Bellarmine felt, who was as well able to shift for himself, as any that stood up for the Roman party. None more exact, more judicious than he, where he was to instruct and inform others; and that, as they knew, who often heard him preach, so they may learn who will read this, which he hath left behind him. And yet this fulness of his material learning left room enough in the temper of his brain for almost all languages, learned and modern, to seat themselves: so that his learning had all the helps language could afford; and his languages learning enough for the best of them to express. His judgment, in the mean time, so commanding over both, as that neither of them was suffered idly or curiously to start from, or fall short of, their intended scope. So that we may better say of him, than it was sometimes said of Claudius Drusus, "He was of as many and as great virtues as mortal nature could receive, or industry make perfect."

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* * * *Authorities.* Isaacson's Life of Bishop Andrews. General Biog. Dictionary. British Biog. Vol. IV. 8vo.

of regal supremacy over all causes and persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil: it was the proper business of a cardinal to endeavour to confute it; but Bellarmine, ashamed to put his own name to an illiberal performance, ushered it into the world under the name of Matthew Tortus; and Mr. Andrews wittily intitled his reply, which was written in Latin, *Tortura Torti, &c.* The king was so well pleased with this judicious performance, that he rewarded the author with the bishopric of Chichester in 1605; at the same time, he likewise made him lord-almoner, which office he executed in a conscientious, disinterested manner, refusing to make those advantages of his place to which he was legally intitled.

Upon the vacancy of the see of Ely, he was translated to it in 1609; and the same year he was sworn of the king's privy-council in England, as he was afterwards of Scotland, upon attending his majesty to that kingdom.

When he had sat nine years in the see of Ely, he was translated to that of Winchester, and also appointed dean of the Royal chapel. And to his honour it is recorded of him, that these preferments were conferred upon him without any court interest, or solicitations on the part of himself or his friends. It is likewise observed, that though he was a privy-counsellor in times of danger and difficulty, in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. he interfered very little in temporal concerns; but in all affairs relative to the church, and the duties of his function, he was remarkably diligent and active.

A pleasant story is related of this worthy prelate, in Waller's life prefixed to his works, as it is said to have been told by that poet to Dr. Birch, his son-in-law.

Waller

Waller going to see king James at dinner, on the day he had dissolved the parliament, over-heard a very extraordinary conversation between his majesty, bishop Andrews, and Neile bishop of Durham. The two prelates standing behind the king's chair, his majesty asked them, if he could not take his subjects money whenever he wanted it, without the formality of a parliament.—The bishop of Durham, who was a complete court-sycophant, readily answered, “God forbid, Sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.” Whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, “Well, my lord, what say you?” Sir, replied Andrews, I have no skill to judge in parliamentary cases. The king hastily added, “No put-off, my lord, answer me presently.” “Then, Sir,” said he, “I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it” Mr. Waller said, the company were much pleased with this answer, and the king in particular was struck with the humour of it; for a certain nobleman coming in soon after, his majesty cried out, “Oh! my lord, they say you *lig* (a Scotch word for *lie*) with my lady.” “No, Sir,” said his lordship, in great confusion, “but I like her company, because she has so much wit.” “Why then,” returned the king, maintaining the charge, “do you not *lig* with my lord of Winchester there.”

After a long life of honour and tranquillity, in which he enjoyed the distinguished esteem of three successive sovereigns, the friendship of all men of letters, his contemporaries, and the veneration of all good christians, this pious and learned prelate died at Winchester-house in Southwark, in September, 1626. He was interred in the parish church of St. Saviour, where his executors erected to his memory an handsome monument, of marble

and alabaſter, on which is an elegant Latin inſcription, by one of his chaplains. Milton alſo wrote a beautiful elegy on the occaſion of his death, in the ſame language, which is one of the earlieſt productions of that immortal bard; for he was but ſeventeen years of age when biſhop Andrews died.

Dr. Fuller obſerves, that king James had ſo great an awe of, and veneration for biſhop Andrews, that in his preſence he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himſelf at other times. His reputation, as a learned man, was well known in foreign countries; for, as he underſtood a great variety of languages, at leaſt fifteen, and was converſant in the Oriental tongues, he was engaged in an extenſive correſpondence with all the literati of Europe. Uſaubon extols his ſkill in all kinds of learning; Spanheim ſtyles him a prelate of moſt acute judgment, and Voſſius, in his treatiſe, *De vitiis ſermonis*, give him the character of a man of moſt accompliſhed learning.

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THE LIFE OF
 GEORGE VILLIERS,
 DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[A. D. 1592, to 1628.]

Written by a Contemporary, in the Style of the
 Times.

GEORGE VILLIERS, the famous duke of Buckingham, was born in the year 1592, at Brookesby in Leicestershire, where his ancestors had chiefly continued about the space of four hundred years, rather without obscurity than with any great lustre, after they had long before been seated at Kinalton, in the county of Nottingham. He was the third son of Sir George Villiers, by Mary, the daughter of Anthony Beaumont, of Cole-orton, Esq. names on either side well known of ancient extraction. He was nurtured where he had been born, in his first rudiments, till the years of ten; and from thence sent to Billisden school in the same county, where he was taught the principles of music, and other slight literature, till the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father died. Then his beautiful and provident mother (for those attributes will not be denied her) took him home

to her house at Goodby, where she had him in especial care; so as he was first (as we may say) a domestic favourite; but finding him (as it should seem) by nature a little studious and contemplative, she chose rather to endue him with converse qualities and ornaments of youth, as dancing, fencing, and the like; not without aim then, perchance, (though far off) at a courtier's life: to which lessons he had such a dextrous proclivity, as his teachers were fain to restrain his forwardness; to the end that his brothers, who were under the same training, might hold pace with him.

About the age of eighteen, he travelled into France, where he improved himself well in the language, for one that had so little grammatical foundation; but more in the exercises of that nobility, for the space of three years, and yet came home in his natural plight, without affected forms (the ordinary disease of travellers). After his return, he passed again one whole year (as before) at Goodby, under the wing and counsels of his mother; and then was forward to become a suitor at London to Sir Roger Ashton's daughter, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to king James, and master of the robes. About which time he fell into intrinsical society with Sir John Greham, then one of the gentlemen of his majesty's privy-chamber, who, I know not upon what luminaries he espied in his face, dissuaded him from marriage, and gave him rather encouragement to woo fortune in court. Which advice sunk well into his fancy: for within some while, the king had taken upon certain glances (whereof the first was at Apthorpe, in a progress) such liking of his person, that he resolved to make him a master-piece, and to mould him, as it were, platonically to his own idea. Neither was his majesty content only to be the architect

architect of his fortune, without putting his gracious hand likewise to some part of the work itself. Infomuch as it pleased him to descend, and to veil his goodness even to the giving of his foresaid friend, Sir John Greham, secret directions, how and by what degrees he should bring him into favour. But this was quickly discovered by him, who was then as yet in some possession of the king's heart. For there is nothing more vigilant, nothing more jealous than a favourite, especially towards the waining-time and suspect of satiety. So as many arts were used to discuss the beginning of new affection. All which notwithstanding, there was conveyed to Mr. Villiers an intimation of the king's pleasure to wait, and to be sworn his servant, and, shortly after, his cup-bearer at large; and the summer following he was admitted into ordinary. After which time favours came thick upon him (liker main showers, than sprinkling drops or dews); for the next St. George's-day he was knighted, and made gentleman of the king's bed-chamber; and the very same day had an annual pension given him, for his better support, of one thousand pounds, out of the court of wards.

At New-year's-tide following, the king chose him master of the horse. After this he was installed of the most noble order. And in the next August he created him baron of Whaddon, and viscount Villiers. In January of the same year, he was advanced earl of Buckingham, and sworn here of his majesty's privy-council; as if a favourite were not so before.

The March ensuing, he attended the king into Scotland, and was likewise sworn a counsellor in that kingdom; where he carried himself with singular sweetness of temper, as it behoved him, being new in favour, and succeeding one of their
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own, to study a moderate style among those generous spirits.

About New-year's-tide, after his return from thence (for those beginnings of years were very propitious to him, as if kings did chuse remarkable days to inaugurate their favours, that they may appear acts as well of the times as of the will), he was created marquis of Buckingham, and made lord-admiral of England, chief-justice in Eyre of all the parks and forests on the south-side of Trent, master of the King's-bench office (none of the unprofitable places), head steward of Westminster, and constable of Windsor-castle.

But these offices and dignities already rehearsed, and those of the like nature, which shall after be set down in their place, were but the facings, or fringes, of his greatness, in comparison of that trust which his most gracious master did cast upon him in the one-and-twentieth year of his reign, when he made him the chief concomitant of his heir apparent, and only son, Charles, prince of Wales, in a journey of much adventure, and which (to shew the strength of his privacy) had been before not communicated with any other of his majesty's most reserved counsellors at home, being carried with great closeness, liker a business of love than state; as it was in the first intendment.

They began their motion in the year 1623, on Tuesday the eighteenth of February, from the marquis his house, of late purchase, at New-hall in Essex, setting out with disguised beards, and with borrowed names of Thomas and John Smith. And then attended with none, but Sir Richard Greham, master of the horse to the marquis, and of inward trust about him. When they passed the river against Gravesend, for lack of silver, they were fain to give the ferry-man a piece of two-and-

and-thirty shillings, which struck the poor fellow into such a melting tenderness, that so good gentlemen should be going (for so he suspected) about some quarrel beyond sea, as he could not forbear to acquaint the officers of the town with what had befallen him, who sent presently post for their stay at Rochester, through which they were passed before any intelligence could arrive. On the brow of the hill beyond that city, they were somewhat perplexed by espying the French ambassador, with the king's coach, and others attending him, which made them baulk the beaten road, and teach post-hackneys to leap hedges.

At Canterbury, whither some voice (as it should seem) was run on before, the mayor of the town came himself to seize on them, as they were taking fresh horses, in a blunt manner, alleging first a warrant to stop them, from the council, next from Sir Lewis Lewkner, master of the ceremonies, and, lastly, from Sir Henry Manwaring, then lieutenant of Dover-castle. At all which confused fictions the marquis had no leisure to laugh, but thought best to dismask his beard, and so told him, that he was going covertly with such slight company, to take a secret view (being admiral) for the forwardness of his majesty's fleet, which was then in preparation on the narrow seas: this, with much ado, did somewhat handsomely heal the disguise. On the way afterwards, the baggage post-boy, who had been at court, got (I know not how) a glimmering who they were; but his mouth was easily shut. To Dover, through bad horses and those petty impediments, they came not before six at night; where they found Sir Francis Cottington, then secretary to the prince, now baron of Hanworth; and Mr. Endymion Porter, who had been sent before to provide a vessel for their transportation.

tion. The foresaid knight was conjoined for the nearness of his place on the prince's affairs; and for his long residence in the court of Spain, where he had gotten singular credit even with that cautious nation, by the temper of his carriage. Mr. Porter was taken in, not only as a bed-chamber servant of confidence to his highness, but likewise as a necessary and useful instrument for his natural skill in the Spanish tongue. And these five were at the first the whole parade of his journey.

The next morning, for the night was tempestuous, on the nineteenth of the aforesaid month, taking shipping at Dover about six of the clock, they landed the same day at Boulogne in France, near two hours after noon; reaching Monstruel that night (like men of dispatch), and Paris the second day after, being Friday the one-and-twentieth. But, some three posts before, they had met with two German gentlemen that came newly from England, where they had seen at New Market the prince and the marquis taking coach together with the king, and retaining such a strong impression of them both, that they now bewrayed some knowledge of their persons; but were out-faced by Sir Richard Greham, who would needs persuade them they were mistaken. Which in truth is no very hard matter; for the very strangeness of the thing itself, and almost the impossibility to conceive so great a prince and favourite so suddenly metamorphosed into travellers, with no greater train, was enough to make any man living unbelieve his senses.

At Paris, the prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment in viewing of a famous city and court, which was a neighbour to his future estates. But for their better veiling of their visages, his highness and the marquiss bought each of them a periwig,

periwig, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. Of the king they got a fight after dinner in a gallery, where he was solacing himself with familiar pleasures; and of the queen-mother, as she was at her own table; in neither place descried, no, not by monsieur Cadinet, who saw them in both, and had been lately ambassador in England. Towards evening, by a mere chance, in appearance, though underlined with a providence, they had a full fight of the queen-infanta, and of the princess Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies, at the practice of a masquing-dance, which was then in preparation; having over-heard two gentlemen who were tending towards that fight, after whom they pressed, and were let in by the duke De Mount Basen, the queen's lord-chamberlain, out of humanity to strangers, when divers of the French went by.

From the next day, when they departed at three of the clock in the morning from Paris, the twenty-third of February, were spent six days at Bayonne, the last town of France, having, before, at Bourdeaux bought them five riding-coats, all of one colour and fashion, in a kind of noble simplicity; where Sir Francis Cottington was employed in a fair manner to keep them from being entertained by the duke De Espernon, telling him they were gentlemen of mean degree, and formed yet to little courtship, who perchance might otherwise (being himself no superficial man in the practices of the world) have pierced somewhat deeper than their out-side.

They were now entered into the deep time of Lent, and could get no flesh in their inns. Whereupon fell out a pleasant passage: there was near Bayonne, an herd of goats with their young ones; upon which sight, the said Sir Richard Greham tells the marquis, he would snap one of the kids,
and

and make some shift to carry him close to their lodging. Which the prince over-hearing, Why Richard, says he, do you think you may practise here your old tricks again upon the borders? Upon which words, they first gave the goat-herd good contentment, and then while the marquis and his servant, being both on foot, were chasing the kid about the stack, the prince from horseback killed him in the head with a Scottish pistol.

At Bayonne, the count De Grammont, governor of that jealous key, took an exquisite notice of their persons and behaviour, and opened himself to some of his train, That he thought them to be gentlemen of much more worth than their habits bewrayed; yet he let them courteously pass. And four days after this they arrived at Madrid, being Wednesday the fifth of March. Having gone thus far, I shall not need to relate the affluence of young nobles and others from hence into Spain, after the voice of our prince's being there had been quickly noised, and at length believed; neither will it be necessary to consider the arts of Rome, where now all engines were whetted (though by the divine blessing very vainly) when they had gotten a prince of Great-Britain upon catholic ground, as they used to call it.

This, and the whole matter of negociation there, the open entertainments, the secret working, the apprehension on both sides, the appearance on neither, and, in sum, all the circumstances and respect of religion and state intermixed together in that commixture, will better become a royal history, or a council-table, than a single life. Yet we cannot omit some things which intervened at the meeting of the two Pleiades, not unlike that which astrologers call a conjunction of planets, of no very benign aspect the one to the other; the marquis
of

of Buckingham, and the Conde d'Olivares. They had some sharper and some milder differences, which might easily happen in such an intervene of grantees, both vehement on the parts which they swayed. But the most remarkable was upon supposition of the Conde's, that the marquis had intimated unto him some hopes of the prince's conversion; which coming into debate, the marquis so roundly disavowed this gilded dream, as Olivares alleged he had given him La-Mentida, and thereupon forms a complaint to the prince himself; which Buckingham denying, and yet Olivares persisting in the said complaint, the marquis, though now in strange hands, yet seeing both his honour and the truth at stake, was not tender likewise to engage his life, but replied with some heat, that the Conde's asseveration would force him to do that which he had not done before; for now he held himself tied in terms of a gentleman, to maintain the contrary to his affirmative, in any sort whatsoever. This was the highest and the harshest point that occurred between them; which, that it went so far, was not the duke's fault; nor his fault neither (as it should seem) that it went no farther. There was another memorable passage one day of gentler quality, and yet eager enough. The Conde d'Olivares told the marquis of a certain flying noise, that the prince did plot to be secretly gone: to which the marquis gave a well-tempered answer, That though love had made his highness steal out of his own country, yet fear would never make him run out of Spain in other manner than should become a prince of his royal and generous virtues.

In Spain they staid near eight entire months, during all which time, who but Buckingham lay at home under millions of maledictions? which yet, at the prince's safe arrival in the West, did
die,

die, and vanish here and there into praises and eulogies, according to the contrary motions of popular waves. And now, to sum up the fruit of the journey, discourses ran thus among the clearest observers. It was said, that the prince himself, without any imaginable stain of his religion, had by the sight of foreign courts, and observations of the different natures of people, and the rules of government, much excited and awakened his spirits, and corroborated his judgment. And as for the marquis, there was note taken of two great additions which he had gained : First, he was returned with increase of title, having there been made duke, by patent sent him, which was the highest degree whereof an English subject could be capable. But the other was far greater, though closer ; for by so long and so private, and so various consociation with a prince of such excellent nature, he had now gotten as it were two lives in his own fortune and greatness ; whereas otherwise the estate of a favourite is but at best a tenant at will, and rarely transmitted. But concerning the Spanish commission, which in public conceit was the main scope of the journey, that was left in great suspense, and after some time utterly laid aside ; which threw the duke, amongst free wits, under censures.

The most part were apt to believe, that he had brought down some deep distaste from Spain, which exasperated his counsels ; neither was there wanting some other that thought him not altogether void of a little ambition, to shew his power either to knit or dissolve.

Howsoever, the whole scene of affairs was changed from Spain to France ; there now lay the prospective. Which alteration being generally liked, and all alterations of state being ever attributed to the powerfulest under princes, the duke became suddenly

denly and strangely gracious among the multitude, and was even in parliament highly exalted; so as he did seem for a time to have overcome that natural incompatibility, which, in the experience of all ages, hath been noted between the vulgar and the sovereign favour. But this was no more than a mere bubble or blast, and like an ephemeral fit of applause, as will appear in the sequel of his life.

After his return from Spain, he was made lord-warden of the cinque-ports (which is, as it were, a second admiralty), and steward likewise of the manor of Hampton-court; dignities and offices still growing of trust or profit; and the king now giving not only out of beneficent disposition, but a very habitual and confirmed custom.

One year, six months, and two days, after the joyful reception of the prince his son from Spain, king James accomplished at Theobalds his own days on earth. Under whom the duke had run a long course of calm and smooth prosperity: I mean long, for the ordinary life of favour; and the more notable, because it had been without any visible eclipse or wane in himself, amidst divers variations in others.

The most important and pressing care of a new and vigorous king, was his marriage, for an immediate establishment of the royal line; wherein the duke having had an especial hand, he was sent to conduct hither the princess Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter to the great Henry of Bourbon; of whom his majesty, as hath been said, had an ambulatory view in his travels. He was accompanied with no peer but the earl of Montgomery.

Now this embassy, though it had a private shew, being charged with more formality than matter (for all the essential conditions were before concluded),

cluded), could howsoever want no ornaments or bravery to adorn it. Among which, it is worthy of a little remembrance, that the duke, one solemn day, gorgeously clad in a suit all over spread with diamonds, and having lost one of them of good value, perchance as he might be dancing, after his manner, with lofty motion, it was strangely recovered again the next morning in a court full of pages: such a diligent attendant was fortune every where, both abroad and at home.

After this fair discharge, all civil honours having showered on him before, there now fell out great occasions to draw forth his spirits into action, by a breach first with Spain, and not long after with France itself, notwithstanding so strait an affinity so lately treated with the one, and actually accomplished with the other; as if, indeed, according to that pleasant maxim of state, kingdoms were never married. This must of necessity involve the duke in business enough to have overset a lesser vessel, being the next commander, under the crown, of ports and ships.

But he was noted willingly to embrace those overtures of public employment: for, at the parliament at Oxford, his youth and want of experience in maritime service had somewhat been shrewdly touched, even before the sluices and flood-gates of popular liberty were yet set open: so as to wipe out that objection, he did now mainly attend his charge, by his majesty's untroubled and serene commands, even in a tempestuous time.

Now the men fell a rubbing of armour, which a great while had lain oiled; the magazines of munition were viewed; the officers of remains called to account; frequent councils of war, as many private conferences with expert seamen; a fleet in preparation for some attempt upon Spain;

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the duke himself personally employed to the states-general; and with him joined, in full commission, the earl of Holland, a peer both of singular grace and solidity, and of all sweet and serviceable virtue for public use.

These two nobles, after a dangerous passage from Harwich, wherein three of their ships were foundered, arrived the fifth day at the Hague in Holland. Here they were to enter into a treaty, both with the States themselves, and with the ministers of divers allied and confederate princes, about a common diversion for the recovery of the palatinate, where the king's only sister's dowry had been ravished by the German eagle, mixed with Spanish feathers; a princess resplendent in darkness, and whose virtues were born within the chance, but without the power of fortune.

Here it were injurious to overslip a noble act in the duke during this employment. There was a collection of certain rare manuscripts, exquisitely written in Arabick, and sought in the most remote parts by the diligence of Erpenius, the most excellent linguist. These had been left to the widow of the said Erpenius, and were upon sale to the Jesuits at Antwerp, liquorish chapmen of such ware, whereof the duke getting knowledge by his worthy and learned secretary, doctor Mason, interverted the bargain, and gave the poor widow for them five hundred pounds, a sum above their weight in silver, and a mixed act both of bounty and charity, the more laudable by being out of his natural element. These were they which, after his death, were as nobly presented as they had been bought to the university of Cambridge, by the duchess dowager, as soon as she understood, by the aforesaid doctor Mason, her husband's intention, who had a purpose likewise to raise in the said university,

versity, whereof he was chancellor, a fair case for such monuments, and to furnish it with other choice collections from all parts, at his own charge.

The aforesaid negociation, though prosecuted with heat and probable appearance of great effects, took up a month before the duke's return; and then at home he met no good news of the Cadiz attempt. In the preparation thereof, though he had spent much sollicitude, *ex officio*, yet it principally failed, as was thought, by late setting out, and by some contrariety of weather at sea; whereby the particular design took vent before-hand; a point hardly avoidable in actions of noise, especially where the great Indian key to all cabinets is working.

Not long after this, the king, pondering in his wisdom the weight of his foreign affairs, found it fit to call a parliament at Westminster. This was that assembly where there appeared a sudden and marvellous conversion in the duke's case, from the most exalted (as he had been both in another parliament, and in common voice before) to the most depressed now; as if his condition had been capable of no mediocrities: and it could not but trouble him the more, by happening when he was so freshly returned out of the Low-country provinces, out of a meritorious employment in his inward conceit and hope. Which being the single example that our annals have yielded, from the time of William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, under Henry VI. of such a concurrence of two extremes, within so short a time, by most of the same commenders and disprovers.

This strange phenomenon began from a travelled doctor of physic, of bold spirit and of able elocution, who, being returned one of the burgesses, which was not ordinary in one of his coat, fell, by a metaphorical allusion, translated from

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his

his own faculty, to propound the duke's as a main cause of many infirmities in the state, or near that purpose, being sure enough of seconds, after the first onset, in the lower house. As for any close intelligence that they had before-hand with some in the higher, though that likewise was said, there wants ground to affirm, or believe it more than a general conceit; which perhaps might run of the working of envy amongst those that were nearest the object, which we see so familiar, both in natural and moral causes.

The duke's answers to his appeachments, in number thirteen, were very diligently and civilly couched; and, though his heart was big, yet they all favour of an humble spirit, one way, equitable consideration, which could not but possess every vulgar conceit, and somewhat allay the whole matter; that, in the bolting and sifting of near fourteen years of such power and favour, all that came out could not be expected to be pure, and white, and fine meal; but must needs have withal among it a certain mixture of padar and bran, in this lower age of human fragility. Howsoever this tempest did only shake and not rent his sails: for his majesty, considering that almost all his appeachments were without the compass of his own reign; and, moreover, that nothing alleged against him had been, or could be, proved by oath, according to the constitution of the house of commons; which the duke himself did not forget in the preface of his answers; and, lastly, having had such experience of his fidelity, and observance abroad, where he was chief in trust, and in the participation of all hazards, found himself engaged in honour, and in the sense of his own natural goodness, to support him at home from any farther inquietude, and too dear buy his highest testimonies of divers
important

important imputations, whereof the truth is best known to his majesty while he was prince.

The summer following this parliament, after an embargo on our trading ships in the river of Bourdeaux, and other points of sovereign affront, there succeeded the action of Rheez, wherein the duke was personally employed on either element, both as admiral and general, with hope in that service to recover the public good-will, which he saw, by his own example, might quickly be won and lost. This action found more honourable censure, even from some of the French writers, than it had generally amongst ourselves at home; as, touching the duke's own deportment in that island, there was matter of glory and grief so equally distributed on both sides, as if Fortune had meant we should quickly be friends again.

The duke's carriage was surely noble throughout. To the gentlemen, of fair respect; bountiful to the soldier, according to any special value which he spied in any; tender and careful of those that were hurt; of unquestionable courage in himself, and rather fearful of fame than danger. In his countenance, which is the part that all eyes interpret, no open alteration, even after the succours which he expected did fail him; but the less he shewed without, the more it wrought intrinsically, according to the nature of suppressed passions: for certain it is, that, to his often-mentioned secretary, doctor Mason, whom he laid in a pallet near him, for natural ventilation of his thoughts, he would, in the absence of all other ears and eyes, break out into bitter and passionate irruptions, protesting, that never his dispatches to divers princes, nor the great business of a fleet, of an army, of a siege, of a treaty, of war, of peace, both on foot together, and all of them in his head at a time, did

not so much break his repose, as a conceit, that some at home, under his majesty, of whom he had well deserved, were now content to forget him.

Of their two forts, he could not take the one, nor would he take the other; but, in the general town, he maintained a seizure and possession of the whole three months and eighteen days; and, at the first descent on shore, he was not immured within a wooden vessel, but he did countenance the landing in his long-boat; where succeeded such a defeat of near two hundred horse (and these not, by his guests, mounted in haste, but the most part gentlemen of family and great resolution), seconded with two thousand foot, as all circumstances well balanced on either side may surely endure a comparison with any of the bravest impressions in ancient time.

In the issue of the whole business, he seems charged in opinion with a kind of improvident conscience, having brought of that with him to camp, perchance, too much from a court where fortune had never deceived him. Besides, we must consider him as yet but rude in the profession of arms, though greedy of honour, and zealous in the cause.

At his return to Plymouth, a strange accident befel him; perchance not so worthy of memory for itself, as for that it seemeth to have a kind of prelude to his final period.

Lord Goring, a gentleman of true honour, and of vigilant affections for his friend, sent to the duke, in all expedition, an express messenger, with advisement, to assure his own person by declining the ordinary road to London; for, that he had credible intelligence of a plot against his life, to be put in execution upon him in his said journey towards the court.

The duke meeting the messenger on the way, read the letter, and smothering it in his pocket, without the least imaginable apprehension, rode forward, his company being, about that time, not above seven or eight in number, and those no otherwise provided for their defence than with ordinary swords.

After this, the duke had not advanced three miles before he met with an old woman, near a town in the road, who demanded, whether the duke were in the company? and bewraying some especial occasion to be brought to him, was led to his horse-side; where she told him, that, in the very next town where he was to pass, she had heard some desperate men vow his death; and thereupon would have directed him about by a surer way.

This old woman's casual access, joined with that deliberate advertisement which he had before from his noble friend, moved him to participate both the tenour of the said letter, and all the circumstances, with his company; who were jointly upon consent that the woman had advised him well. Notwithstanding all which importunity, he resolved not to wave his way upon this reason, perhaps more generous than provident, that if, as he said, he should but once, by such a diversion, make his enemy believe he were afraid of danger, he should never live without.

Hereupon his young nephew, lord viscount Fielding, being then in his company, out of a noble spirit, besought him, that he would, at least, honour him with his coat and blue ribbon, thorough the town, pleading his uncle's life, whereupon lay the property of his whole family, was, of all things under Heaven, the most precious unto him; and undertaking so to gesture and muffle up himself in his hood, as the duke's manner was to

ride in cold weather, that none should discern him from him; and so he should be at the more liberty for his own defence. At which sweet proposition, the duke caught him in his arms, and kissed him; yet would not, as he said, accept of such an offer from a nephew, whose life he tendered as much as himself; and so liberally rewarded the poor creature for her good-will. After some short directions to his company, how they should carry themselves, he rode on without perturbation of his mind. He was no sooner entered into the town, but a scuffling soldier clapt hold of his bridle, which he thought was in a begging, or (perchance somewhat worse) in a drunken fashion; yet a gentleman of his train that rode a pretty distance behind him, conceiving by the premises it might be a beginning of some mischievous intent, spurred up his horse, and with a violent rush severed him from the duke, who with the rest went on quickly through the town: neither was there any farther enquiry into that practice, the duke, peradventure, thinking it wisdom not to resent discontentments too deep.

At his return to the court he found no change in faces, but smothered murmurings for the loss of so many gallant gentlemen; against which his friends did oppose in their discourses the chance of war, together with a gentle expectation for want of supply in time. But after the complaints in parliament, and the unfortunate issue at Rheeze, the duke's fame fell more and more in obloquy among the mass of people, whose judgments are only reconciled with good successes: so as he saw plainly that he must abroad again to rectify, by his best endeavour under the public service, his own reputation. Whereupon new preparatives were in hand, and partly reparatives of the former beaten at sea. And in the mean while, he was not unmindful

mindful in his civil course to cast an eye upon the ways, to win unto him such as have been of principal credit in the lower house of parliament, applying lenitives, or subducting from that part where he knew the humours were sharpest: amidst which thoughts, he was surpris'd with a fatal stroke, written in the black book of necessity.

There was a younger brother, of mean fortune, born in the county of Suffolk, by name John Felton, by nature of a deep, melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution, but bred in the active way of a soldier, and thereby rais'd to the place of lieutenant to a company of foot, in the regiment of Sir James Ramsey. This was the man that closely within himself had conceived the duke's death. But what may have been the immediate or greatest motive of that felonious conception, is even yet in the clouds.

It was said at first, that he had been stung with a denial of his captain's place, who died in England; whereof thus much indeed is true, that the duke, before he would invest him in the said place, advising first (as his manner was) with his colonel, he found him to interpose for one Powel, his own lieutenant, a gentleman of extraordinary valour, and according to military custom, the place was good, and the lieutenant of the colonel's company might well pretend to the next vacant captainship, under the same regiment. Which Felton acknowledged to be in itself very usual and equitable, besides the special merit of the person. So as the afore said conceit of some rancour harboured upon this denial had no true ground. There was another imagination, that between a knight of the same county (whom the duke had lately taken into some good degree of favour) and the said Felton, there had been ancient quarrels, not yet well

healed, which might perhaps lie festering in his breast, and by a certain inflammation produce this effect. But that carries small probability, that Felton would so deface his own act, as to make the duke no more than an oblique sacrifice to the fumes of his private revenge upon a third person.

Therefore the truth is, that, either to honest a deed after it was done, or to flumber his conscience in the doing, he studied other incentives, alleging, not three hours before his execution, to Sir Richard Gresham, two only inducements thereof. The first, as he made it in order, was a certain libellous book, written by one Egglestone, a Scottish physician, which made the duke one of the foulest monsters upon earth; and indeed unworthy not only of life in a Christian court, and under so virtuous a king, but of any room within the bounds of humanity, if his prodigious predictions had the least semblance of truth. The second was, the remonstrance itself of the lower house of parliament against him, which perchance he thought the fairest cover, so he put in the second place. Whatsoever were the true motives, which none can determine but the prince of darkness itself, he did thus prosecute the effect.

In a by-cutler's shop on Tower-hill, he bought a ten-penny knife, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other. This done, he made shift, partly as it is said on horseback, and partly on foot, to get to Portsmouth, for he was indigent and low in money, which perhaps might have a little edged his desperation. At Portsmouth on Saturday, being the 23d of August of that current year, he pressed, without any suspicion in such a time of so many pretenders to employment, into an inward chamber, where

where the duke was at breakfast (the last of his repasts in this world) accompanied with men of quality and action, with Monsieur de Soubes, and Sir Thomas Fryer. And there, a little before the duke's rising from the table, he went and stood expecting till he should pass through a kind of lobby, between that room and the next, where were divers attending him. Towards which passage, as I conceive, somewhat darker than the chamber which he voided, while the duke came, with Sir Thomas Fryer close at his ear, in the very moment as the said knight withdrew himself from the duke, this assassin gave him, with a back blow, a deep wound in his left side, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke himself pulling out, on a sudden effusion of spirits, he sunk down under the table in the next room, and immediately expired.

Certain it is, that, some good while before, Sir Clement Ihrogmorton, a gentleman then living, of grave judgment, had in a private conference advised him to wear a privy-coat, whose council the duke received very kindly; but gave him this answer, "that against any popular fury, a shirt of mail would be but a silly defence; and for any single man's assault, he took himself to be in no danger." So dark is destiny.

One thing in this enormous accident is beyond all wonder: That within the space of not many minutes after the fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a living creature in either of the chambers, not more than if it had lain in the sands of Æthiopia; whereas commonly, in such cases, you shall note every where a great and sudden conflux of people unto the place, to hearken and to see. But it should seem the very horror of the fact had stupified all

curiosity, and so dispersed the multitude, that it is thought even the murderer himself might have escaped (who gave the blow none could affirm) if he had not lingered about the house below, not by any confused arrest of conscience, as hath been seen in like examples, but by very pride in his own deed, as if in effect there were little difference between being remembered by a virtuous fame, or an illustrious infamy. Thus died this great peer, in the 36th year of his age compleat, and three days over, in a time of great recourse unto him, and dependence upon him; the house, and town full of servants and suitors; his duchess in an upper room, scarce yet out of bed; and the court at that time not above six or nine miles from him, which had been the stage of his greatness.

As to any ominous presagement before his end, it is reported, that being to take his leave of my lord's grace of Canterbury, then bishop of London, whom he knew well planted in the king's unchangeable affection by his own great abilities; after courtesies of course had passed between them; "My lord," says the duke, "I know your lordship hath very worthily good accesses unto the king our sovereign, let me pray you to put his majesty in mind to be good, as I no ways distrust, to my poor wife and childre." At which words, or at his countenance in the delivery, or at both, my lord bishop being somewhat troubled, took the freedom to ask him, whether he had never any secret abodement in his mind. "No," replied the duke, "but I think some adventure may kill me, as well as another man."

The very day before he was slain, feeling some indisposition of body, the king was pleased to give him the honour of a visit, and found him in his bed; where, after much serious and private discourse,

course, the duke, at his majesty's departing, embraced him in a very unusual and passionate manner, and in like sort his friend the earl of Holland, as if his soul had divined he should see them no more: which infusions towards fatal ends have been observed by some authors of no light authority.

On the very day of his death, the countess of Denbigh received a letter from him; whereunto all the while she was writing her answer, she bedewed the paper with her tears; and after a most bitter passion (whereof she could yield no reason, but that her dearest brother was to be gone) she fell down in a swoon. Her said letter ended thus: "I will pray for your happy return, which I look at with a great cloud over my head, too heavy for my poor heart to bear without torment; but I hope the great God of heaven will bless you."

The day following, the bishop of Ely, her devoted friend, who was thought the fittest preparer of her mind to receive such a doleful accident, came to visit her: but hearing she was at rest, he attended till she should awake of herself, which she did with the affrightment of a dream. Her brother seemed to pass through a field with her, in her coach; where hearing a sudden shout of the people, and asking the reason, it was answered to have been for joy that the duke of Buckingham was sick. Which natural impression she scarce had related unto her gentlewoman, before the bishop was entered into her bed-chamber for a chosen messenger of the duke's death.

But the most remarkable instance of all is the famous story of the apparition, which we have from lord Clarendon.

"There was an officer in the king's wardrobe in Windsor Castle, of a good reputation for honesty

nefty and discretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more.

“ This man had in his youth been bred in a school in the parish where Sir George Villiers, the father of the duke, lived, and had been much cherished and obliged in that season of his age by the said Sir George, whom afterwards he never saw.

“ About six months before the miserable end of the duke of Buckingham, about midnight, this man being in his bed at Windsor, where his office was, and in very good health, there appeared to him, on the side of his bed, a man of a very venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and fixing his eyes upon him, asked him if he knew him.

“ The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehension, being asked the second time, whether he remembered him, and having in that time called to his memory the presence of Sir George Villiers, and the very cloaths he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to be habited, he answered him, that he thought him to be that person; he replied, he was in the right, that he was the same, and that he expected a service from him, which was, that he should go from him, to his son the duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not somewhat to ingratiate himself to the people, or at least to abate the extreme malice which they had against him, he would be suffered to live but a short time.

“ After this discourse he disappeared, and the poor man (if he had been at all waking) slept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and considered it no otherwise.

“ The next night, or shortly after, the same person appeared to him again, in the same place,
and

and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before, and asked him, whether he had done as he had required of him; and perceiving he had not, gave him very severe reprehensions, told him he expected more compliance from him, and that if he did not perform his commands, he should enjoy no peace of mind, but should always be pursued by him: upon which he promised him to obey. But the next morning waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively representation of all particulars to his memory, he was still willing to persuade himself that he had only dreamed, and considered that he was a person at such a distance from the duke, that he knew not how to find out any admission to his presence, much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say; so with great trouble and unquietness he spent some time in thinking what he should do; and in the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

“The same person appeared to him the third time with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor man had, by this time, recovered the courage to tell him, that in truth he had deferred the execution of his commands, upon considering how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any access to the duke, having acquaintance with no person about him; and if he should obtain admission to him, he should never be able to persuade him that he was sent in such a manner; that he should at least be thought to be mad, or to be set on and employed by his own, or the malice of other men, to abuse the duke; and so he should be sure to be undone.

“The person replied, as he had done before, that he should never find rest till he should perform
what

what he had required, and therefore he were better to dispatch it; that the access to his son was known to be very easy, and that few men waited long for him; and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him two or three particulars, which he charged him never to mention to any person living but to the duke himself; and he should no sooner hear them but he should believe all the rest he should say; and so repeating his threats, he left him.

“ In the morning the poor man, more confirmed by the last appearance, made his journey to London, where the court then was. He was very well known to Sir Ralph Freeman, one of the masters of requests, who had married a lady that was nearly allied to the duke, and was himself well received by him. To him this man went, and though he did not acquaint him with all the particulars, he said enough to let him know there was something extraordinary in it; and the knowledge he had of the sobriety and discretion of the man, made the more impression on him. He desired, that by his means he might be brought to the duke, in such a place and in such a manner as should be thought fit, affirming that he had much to say to him, and of such a nature as would require much privacy, and some time and patience in the hearing.

“ Sir Ralph promised he would speak first with the duke of him, and then he should understand his pleasure; and accordingly, the first opportunity, he did inform him of the reputation and honesty of the man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of the matter.

“ The duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him, that he was the next day early to hunt with the king; that his horses should attend him at Lambeth-bridge, where he should land by five of the clock in the morning;
and

and if the man attended him there at that hour, he would walk and speak with him as long as should be necessary.

“ Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next morning, and presented him to the duke at his landing, who received him very courteously, and walked aside in conference near an hour, none but his own servants being at that hour in that place, and they and Sir Ralph at such a distance, that they could not hear a word, though the duke sometimes spoke loud, and with great emotion, which Sir Ralph the more easily observed and perceived, because he kept his eyes always fixed upon the duke, having procured the conference upon somewhat he knew was extraordinary.

“ The man told him, in his return over the water, that when he mentioned those particulars which were to gain him credit (the substance whereof he said he durst not impart unto him) the duke's colour changed, and he swore he could come at that knowledge only by the devil, for that those particulars were only known to himself and to one person more, who he was sure would never speak of it.

“ The duke pursued his purpose of hunting, but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon; and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his mother's lodgings in Whitehall, with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours; the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the ears of those who attended in the next rooms. And when the duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a countenance that was never before observed in him in any conversation with her, towards whom he

he had a profound reverence; and the countess herself (for though she was married to a private gentleman, Sir Thomas Compton, she had been created countess of Buckingham shortly after her son had assumed that title) was, at the duke's leaving her, found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable.

“Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when the news of the duke's murder (which happened within a few months after) was brought to his mother, she seemed not in the least degree surpris'd, but received it as if she had foreseen it; nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow, as was expected from such a mother for the loss of such a son.”

This story is related with some little circumstantial difference by several considerable authors, who all seem to agree in the most material parts of it.

Fame, though with some privacy, says, that the secret token was an incestuous breach of modesty between the duke and a certain lady too nearly related to him, which it surpris'd the duke to hear of; and that as he thought he had good reasons to be sure the lady would not tell it of herself, so he thought none but the devil could tell it besides her; and this astonish'd him, so that he was very far from receiving the man slightly, or laughing at his message.

He took to wife, eight years and two months before his death, the lady Catherine Manners, heir general to the noble house of Rutland, who, besides a solid addition to his estate, brought him three sons and a daughter, called the lady Mary, his first-born; his eldest son died at nurse, before his journey to Rheeze; and his third, the lord Francis, was born after his father's death; so as neither his

his first nor his last were participant of any sense of his misfortunes or felicities : his second son, now duke of Buckingham, was born to cheer him on his return from that unlucky voyage.

For these sweet pledges, and no less for the unquestionable virtues of her person and mind, he loved her dearly, and well expressed his love in an act and time of no simulation, towards his end, bequeathing her all his mansion-houses during her natural life, and a power to dispose of his whole personal estate, together with a fourth part of his lands in jointure ; he left his elder brother of the same womb a viscount, and his younger brother an earl ; Sir Edward Villiers, his half-brother on the father's side, he either preferred or removed (call it how you will) from his step-mother's eye to the presidentship ; where he lived in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality ; and died with as much grief of the whole province, as ever any governor did (before his religious lady, of sweet and noble disposition), adding much to his honour. The eldest of the brethren, and heir of the name, was made a baronet, but abstained from court, enjoying perhaps the greater greatness of self-fruition.

He left his mother a countess by patent in her own person, which was a new leading example, grown before somewhat rare, since the days of queen Mary. His sister of Denbigh (that right character of a good lady) he most humbly recommended to the queen ; who after a discharge of some French ladies in her court that were to return, took her into three several places of honour and trust.

In short, not to insist on every particular branch of those private preferments, he left all his female kindred, of the entire or half blood, descending of
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the name of Villiers or Beaumont, within any near degree, either matched with peers of the realm actually, or hopefully with earls sons and heirs; or at least with knights, or doctors of divinity, and of plentiful condition: he did not much strengthen his own subsistence in court, but stood there on his own feet, for the truth is, the most of his allies rather leaned upon him, than shoared him up. His familiar servants, either about his person in ordinary attendance, or about his affairs of state, as his secretaries; or of office, as his steward; or of law, as that worthy knight whom he long used to solicit his causes; he left all, both in good fortune, and, which is more, in good fame.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE ABBOT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1562, to 1633.]

THIS eminent prelate was the son of Maurice Abbot, a clothworker, who suffered great hardships for his inviolable attachment to the Protestant faith in the reign of queen Mary, being persecuted by Dr. Story, an active bigot in those unhappy days. He resided at Guildford in Surrey, where his son
George

George was born in the year 1562. He received the first rudiments of education from Mr. Francis Taylor, master of the free-grammar school at Guildford, founded by Edward VI. From thence he was removed to Baliol-college, Oxford. In 1583, he was chosen probationer-fellow of that college, and having entered into holy orders soon after, he became a celebrated preacher. In 1593, he took the degree of batchelor in divinity, and in 1597 that of doctor. The same year he was likewise elected master of University-college.

It was about this time that a disagreement arose between our young divine and the famous William Laud, his successor in the metropolitan chair. They very early considered each other as rivals; and Laud having advanced some tenets in his exercises at the university, which favoured the doctrines of the Romish church, Abbot publicly branded him for a Papist; which was so highly resented by Laud, that their aversion to each other lasted for life.

In 1599, Dr. Abbot was made dean of Winchester, and the following year he had the honour to be elected vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford; and he was so highly approved of, that he was chosen a second and third time, in the years 1603 and 1605. The translation of the Bible now in use was begun by command of king James I. in 1604; and Dr. Abbot was the second of eight learned divines in the university of Oxford, to whom the care of translating the whole New Testament (the Epistles excepted) was committed. He likewise published, this year, An Answer to Dr. Hill's reasons for upholding Popery.

Upon the death of his first patron the earl of Dorset, in 1608, Dr. Abbot became chaplain to George Hume, earl of Dunbar, and treasurer of
Scot-

Scotland, with whom he went to that kingdom to assist in establishing an union betwixt the churches of England and Scotland; and upon this important subject he manifested such address, moderation, sound judgment, and learning, that it laid the foundation of his future fortune. For king James had suffered so much by the spirit and influence of the Presbyterians in Scotland, that he was determined, at all events, to restore episcopacy; and the management of this business was left to the earl of Dunbar, who met with so powerful an opposition to this measure, that he was on the point of giving it up, when by the skilful conduct of Dr. Abbot, an accommodation was brought about; and bishops were allowed to form a part of the ecclesiastical constitution of the kirk of Scotland; but their powers and privileges were limited by articles agreed on between the earl of Dunbar and the clergy of Scotland, which were ratified by the parliament of that kingdom. While he was at Edinburgh, a prosecution was commenced against one George Sprot, for having been concerned in Gowry's conspiracy eight years before. A long account of this affair, with a narrative prefixed by Dr. Abbot, was published at London, to satisfy the public about this matter, which had hitherto appeared doubtful and mysterious. In fine, Dr. Abbot's whole conduct in Scotland was highly commended by the king, who after his return placed great confidence in him, and began to ask his advice upon affairs of state; and when his majesty was called upon by his allies to concur in the treaty between the states of Holland and Spain, after consulting the convocation upon the subject, he wrote a letter to Dr. Abbot, which is still extant, requiring his private opinion on the same matter.

Upon

Upon the death of Dr. Overton, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, the king promoted Dr. Abbot to the vacant see, and he was accordingly consecrated bishop of those united sees in December 1609. But in little more than a month after, he was translated to the see of London, which became vacant by the death of Dr. Thomas Ravis; and before the expiration of the year 1610, he attained the summit of ecclesiastical dignity in England; for upon the death of Dr. Richard Bancroft, in the month of November, his majesty, as a testimony of his very great esteem for our prelate, advanced him to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. And from this time he had a principal share in the administration of government, with the entire approbation of the people, whose esteem for him was equal to his great merit. Yet he never forgot himself in his high station, nor appeared to be fond of that power which had so rapidly fallen to his lot before he was fifty years of age. Neither did he extend the prerogatives of a primate beyond their due bounds; for he was a man of cool temper and moderation in his principles, which displeased the high-church party, who thought the church in great danger from the humanity and candour he shewed to those who dissented from the establishment. But regardless of the clamours of his enemies, he persisted in one steady uniform course of conduct; and when he supposed the rights of the church to be really invaded, he maintained them with great resolution, particularly in the case of the prohibitions set forth by Sir Edward Coke, against the jurisdiction and authority of the high commission court.

The archbishop's zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion made him a strenuous promoter of the marriage between the elector palatine and the princess Elizabeth, king James's daughter; and the

the elector arriving in England at the beginning of the year 1612, his grace invited the nobility who attended on him to an entertainment at his palace at Lambeth, which the elector himself unexpectedly honoured with his presence, as a mark of his great respect for the archbishop. The marriage was solemnized soon after with great splendour, the archbishop performing the ceremony on a stage erected for the purpose in the middle of the royal chapel at St. James's. In April, his electoral highness left England; but before his departure he made the archbishop a present in plate, to the value of 1000*l.* and as a farther testimony of his regard for, and confidence in him, he explained to him in a private letter the cause of his leaving England in disgust; which was a refusal on the part of the king to release the lord Grey from his imprisonment in the Tower, though the elector warmly solicited it. It appears likewise that he was denied some other requests, which made him complain that the king treated him not upon the respectable footing of a son and a prince, but rather like a childish youth, whose demands were not to be regarded.

It was about this time, that the celebrated Hugo Grotius came over to England, to endeavour to give James a more favourable opinion of the Remonstrants, by which name the Arminians in Holland then began to distinguish themselves. It appears, that neither our archbishop, nor the rest of the ministry, nor even James himself, entertained an high opinion of this great man. They looked upon him as a singular man, a pedant, and partial to the laws, customs, and manners of his own country; and Grotius, therefore, had no success in his negociation.

In 1613, an event happened, which considerably diminished that cordial esteem the king had always testified for the archbishop. The case was this: the lady Francis Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, had been married at thirteen years of age to the earl of Essex, who being only fourteen, was sent abroad on his travels, the lady remaining at home, and frequenting the court. This gave Robert Carr, viscount Rochester, the king's favourite, an opportunity of seducing the countess; and having entirely gained her affections, upon her husband's return she instituted a suit against him in the ecclesiastical court, praying to be divorced from him, on a charge of impotency. The king countenanced this wicked artifice, and our incorruptible archbishop could not, by any means whatever, be brought over to give his consent to the divorce. The cause was tried by a court of delegates, consisting of bishops and civilians; and the sentence of divorce was carried by a majority of two bishops devoted to the court. The people loudly exclaimed against the king for his infamous conduct in this affair; and even lord Rochester's best friends reproached him severely for such an act of perfidy and baseness. But the king, to shew his approbation of the divorce, caused the marriage between his favourite and the countess of Essex to be solemnized soon after in the royal chapel; and, that the countess might not lose her rank, he created the lord Rochester, earl of Somerset. Yet neither the sanction of James, nor the adulations of a corrupt court, could stifle the horrors of reflection, which were kept alive by the constant remonstrances of Sir Thomas Overbury, a most worthy gentleman, and Somerset's sincere friend. He had used his best endeavour to prevent the fatal match, and failing in his laudable design, he did not scruple to impute
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this alliance to intemperate lust on the part of the countess, who, fired to madness at the bad opinion conceived of her by the public, instigated her new husband to proceed from one crime to another; and by their contrivance Sir Thomas Overbury was sent to the Tower, for a supposed affront offered to the king, in refusing to go on an embassy to a climate which he knew would not agree with his constitution. Having thus secured their victim, it was not long before the guilty couple caused him to be poisoned; but this murder was charged home upon them; they were tried and condemned, but pardoned by the king in 1624. However, the disgrace of Somerset was the immediate consequence; and they both lived obscure and wretched from this time.

In 1616, the famous Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, took shelter in England, from the persecution with which he was threatened by the pope, for discovering his dislike both of the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and was very kindly received by king James, who directed archbishop Abbot to entertain him, which he did with generous hospitality, till he was otherwise provided for by the king.

About two years after, the archbishop gave a fresh proof of his piety and resolution in forbidding the book of Sports to be read at Croydon, though the king had expressly ordered that it should be read in all churches and chapels. We shall have occasion hereafter to mention this book of Sports as one of the causes of the misfortunes of Charles I. It may therefore suffice to observe in this place, that certain sports and pastimes were permitted by authority on the Sabbath-day, after evening service; but being once authorized, it was a natural consequence easy to be foreseen, that the common people would not confine them to any particular
time

time of the day ; and accordingly this publication occasioned scenes of riot, confusion, and indecency, which disturbed the order and decorum of the whole day, and gave great offence to all well-disposed, devout Christians.

In 1619, Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the first stone of the hospital at Guildford in Surrey, which the archbishop endowed with lands to the value of three hundred pounds per annum, one hundred of which is employed in setting the poor to work, and the remainder for the maintenance of a master and twelve old men and women ; and the 29th of October, being the anniversary of the birth of archbishop Abbot, is still commemorated at this hospital, of which the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being is visitor.

Towards the close of this year, the elector palatine accepted the crown of Bohemia, which occasioned great divisions in the councils of king James. Ferdinand, cousin to Matthias, emperor of Germany, had been elected the year before by the intrigues of the court of Vienna, and was crowned this year king of Hungary. But the elector palatine was invited to the throne of Bohemia by the free voice of the people, and wanted only the powerful support of the Protestant princes to maintain his election against Ferdinand. Independent of the interests of the Protestant religion, it was natural to expect that James would powerfully assist his son-in-law ; and upon every principle of sound policy he ought to have done it. These were the sentiments of our archbishop, who being ill in bed at this time sent his opinion in writing to the privy-council. But the majority, who knew the dastardly temper of the king, and that he preferred inglorious ease and a forced peace to drawing the sword, even for the best of causes, the interests of religion, and the preservation of the issue of his

Joins, advised his majesty not to interfere in this matter, because it must inevitably produce a war with Germany. Thus the poor elector was abandoned; for the other Protestant powers observing that England would not countenance him, withheld their promised succour; and the prince, with a small army, being surrounded by the Imperialists, was obliged to hazard the battle of Prague, on the 18th of November, when he suffered a total defeat; and being closely pursued by the enemy, was obliged not only to abandon Bohemia, but even his electoral dominions, which the emperor gave, together with the electoral title and honours, to the duke of Bavaria, a Roman catholick, and a descendant of a younger branch of the family of the vanquished palatine. As for James, he was despised in every court of Europe for this base desertion of his son in law; and the honour of England was sullied during the remainder of this inglorious reign by this ignominious transaction.

From this time, the archbishop's health began to decline, so that he led a retired life chiefly in the country; and in 1622, an unhappy accident happened, which added to his bodily infirmities, by the melancholy state of mind into which it threw him. Having made a summer excursion this year to Hampshire, he was invited by lord Zouch to take the diversion of hunting in Bramshill-park; when Peter Hawkins, the park-keeper, hastily running amongst a herd of deer, to bring them up, that the company might have the fairer mark, the archbishop, who was on horseback, discharged a barbed arrow from a cross-bow, which unfortunately shot the keeper in the left arm, and he died the next day. This misfortune greatly affected the spirits, and consequently the health, of the good old prelate, who, during the remainder of his life, kept

kept a monthly fast on Tuesdays, in commemoration of the fatal mischance; and he settled an annuity of twenty pounds for life on the widow.

But this misfortune had still more afflicting consequences, for his enemies endeavoured to lessen him from this accident in the king's esteem; but James justly observed, that "an angel might have miscarried in this sort:" however, they would not be thus silenced; but some ambitious priests, who hoped to be exalted by a change in the archiepiscopal see, represented that he had incurred an irregularity, and was thereby incapacitated for performing the office of a primate; upon which the king was under the necessity of appointing a commission, which consisted of ten persons, of the first rank, in the church, the law, and the state, to enquire into this matter. The points referred to their decision were, 1. Whether the archbishop was *irregular* (a term in the canon-law) by the fact of involuntary homicide? 2. Whether that act might tend to scandal in a churchman? 3. How his grace should be restored in case the commissioners should find him irregular? It was unanimously agreed that, admitting the irregularity (concerning which they were divided), he could not be restored but by the king, and they varied again respecting the mode of restitution. The bishop of Winchester, the lord chief justice of the King's-bench, and Dr. Stewart the civilian, were of opinion it should be done by the king alone. The lord-keeper of the great seal (Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln) the bishops of London, Rochester, Exeter, and St. David's, were for a commission from the king directed to the bishops. Judge Doddridge, and Sir Henry Martin, wished it might be done both ways, that it might be more effectual, and serve as a precedent. In the end, the king passed a pardon and dispensation,

penfation, by which he affoiled the archbifhop of all irregularity, fcandal, or infamation, and declared him capable of all the authority of a primate.

But though the archbifhop was completely reftored, he feldom affifted at the council after this event, the infirmities of an advanced age daily increafing upon him. It appears, however, that he fometimes communicated his fentiments to the king, on the meafures of adminiftration, with his ufual freedom and integrity; for in a letter preferved by Rufhworth, after having condemned a defign, which was then fet on foot, of granting a toleration to Papifts, he cenfures the king for his imprudence in permitting Charles prince of Wales to go to Spain, without the confent of the council, or the knowledge and approbation of the people; fenfibly reminding him, that though he had an intereft in the prince as his fon, yet the people had a greater as the fon of the kingdom, upon whom, next after him, their eyes were fixed, and their welfare depended. And with a prophetic fpirit he foretells, that thofe who drew him into an action fo dangerous to himfelf, fo desperate to the nation, would not pafs unqueftioned, nor unpunifhed. As thefe were his fentiments, it is no wonder he had Buckingham for his enemy; but James fo highly venerated his character, that the minifter in vain attempted his difgrace; for James, in his laft illnefs, fent for him, and the archbifhop fcarcely ftirred from his chamber till he expired.

The archbifhop had the honour to fet the crown upon the head of the unfortunate Charles I. but this was a matter of mere form, and intended more to do honour to the king than the archbifhop; for it had been a custom, from time immemorial, that that primate fhould perform this folemn office. But no fooner was Charles feated on the throne, than
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he countenanced Buckingham's design of displacing the good old archbishop, who, if his great age and infirmities had been considered, was a very improper object for resentment. However, the king did not love him, and Buckingham detested him: it was therefore resolved to remove him from court, and a favourable opportunity soon occurred.

A certain Dr. Sibthorpe having preached a sermon at the Lent-assizes at Northampton in 1627, in which he maintained that the king might impose taxes upon the people without consent of parliament, and that the people were bound in conscience to obey his will and pleasure; this doctrine was so pleasing to the king, that he ordered the sermon to be printed, and sent his directions to the archbishop to license it; but his grace, having perused it, absolutely refused, and assigned his reasons. The sermon was afterwards licensed by the bishop of London; and the secretary of state, lord Conway, made the archbishop a visit, and signified to him his majesty's pleasure, that he should retire to Canterbury. But having at this time a law-suit depending against the corporation, he requested leave to withdraw to Ford, about five miles beyond Canterbury, which was granted; and in the month of October in the same year, the king issued a commission to the bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, empowering them to execute the archiepiscopal authority, and assigning as the sole cause, that the archbishop could not at that time attend those services personally, which were proper for his cognizance and direction. But the policy of the court would not suffer the archbishop to remain long in this state of sequestration and confinement, for he was beloved by the people; and the king being in want of money, it was necessary to call a parliament,

and to restore his grace to the full possession of his authority and jurisdiction, on account of his interest with the representatives of the people. He was accordingly summoned to parliament, and the commission of sequestration was revoked. But the interest of Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, became so powerful at court about this time, that the archbishop totally withdrew, perceiving he was an unwelcome guest; and the last contest he had with his rivals and successors in court-favour, was upon the following occasion.

Laud drew up certain instructions to answer the purposes of the high-church party, which were transmitted to the archbishop, under the pompous title of, "His Majesty's Instructions to the most Reverend Father in God, George, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," containing certain orders to be observed and put in execution by the several bishops in his province. His grace communicated them to his suffragan bishops, but in several respects he endeavoured to soften their rigour, as they were contrived to enforce the particular notions of a prevailing party in the church, which the archbishop considered as a hardship on those who made the fundamentals of religion their study, and were not so zealous for forms. His conduct upon this and other occasions was resented by the king, and upon the birth of his son Charles, afterwards Charles II. Laud had the honour to baptize him. After this we hear no more of our archbishop till August 1633, when being worn out with cares and bodily infirmities, he died at Croydon. His remains were buried in the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where a stately monument was erected over the grave, with his effigies reposed thereon in his archiepiscopal robes.

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He shewed himself, in most circumstances of his life, a man of great moderation to all parties, and was desirous that the clergy should attract the esteem of the laity by the sanctity of their manners, rather than claim it as due to their function. His principles and conduct, however, not suiting the dispositions of some writers, they have thought proper to make many severe reflections on both. Fuller, in his Church History, says, "that he forsook the birds of his own feather to fly with others, generally favouring the laity more than the clergy, in causes that were brought before him." Mr. John Aubrey, having transcribed the inscription on the archbishop's monument, adds, "Notwithstanding this most noble character transmitted to posterity, he was, though a benefactor to this place, no friend to the church of England, whereof he was head, but scandalously permitted that poisonous spirit of puritanism to spread over the whole nation by his indolence at least, if not connivance and encouragement, which some years after broke out, and laid a flourishing church and state in the most miserable ruins; and which gave birth to those principles, which, unless rooted out, will ever make this nation unhappy." The earl of Clarendon has drawn the following picture of this worthy prelate: "Abbot considered the Christian Religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little enquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin; and for his sake did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done. But if men prudently forbore a public

public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private judgment be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his, but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him: and, though many other bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily broke in, to the prejudice of religion, by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the bishop of London (Dr. Laud), from the time of his authority and credit with the king, had applied all the remedies he could to those defections, and from the time of his being chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced and almost suppressed that spirit, by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that university; yet that temper in the archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so filled by many weak and more wilful churchmen." The complexion of this noble author accounts for his prejudices against our archbishop; but the candour of Dr. Wellwood has enabled him to do justice to the merit and abilities of our prelate.

"Archbishop Abbot," says Wellwood, "was a person of wonderful temper and moderation, and in all his conduct shewed an unwillingness to stretch the act of uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the church, or the prerogative of the crown, any farther than conduced to the good of the state. Being not well-turned for a court, though otherwise of considerable

derable learning and genteel education, he either could not, or would not, stoop to the humour of the times; and now and then, by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular interest; and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government."

Archbishop Abbot acquired a moderate share of reputation by his theological and polemical writings, but being upon subjects chiefly temporary, they are of little account at present, except the two following:

Questiones sex, totidem prelectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, discussæ & disceptatæ, anno 1597, in quibus e sacra Scriptura & Patribus, quid statuendum sit definitur. Oxoniæ 1598, Francofurti 1616, 4to.

Exposition on the prophet Jonah, in certain sermons preached in St. Mary's church, Oxford; London, 4to, 1602.

We shall conclude, with reminding the reader, that the archbishop had a brother likewise in the church, whose name was Robert, who rose to be bishop of Salisbury, and died in 1617; equally esteemed for true piety, moderation, and candour, and whose theological works are held in greater esteem than those of the archbishop, as they are on more general subjects, and he was allowed to be the deepest scholar of the two.

* * * *Authorities.* Heylin's Life of Archbishop Abbot. Winwood's Memorials. Fuller's Church History. Rushworth's Collections. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. Wellwood's Memoirs.

THE LIFE OF
SIR EDWARD COKE,
LORD-CHIEF-JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

(A. D. 1550, to 1634.)

THIS celebrated lawyer was son to Robert Coke, Esq; and was born at his father's seat at Mileham, in the county of Norfolk, in the year 1550. At ten years of age, he was sent to the free-school at Norwich; and from thence removed to Trinity-college in Cambridge. He remained in the university about four years, and went from thence to Clifford's Inn in London; and, the year after, was entered a student of the Inner Temple. David Lloyd tells us, that the first occasion of his rise, was his stating of the Cook's case of the Temple so exactly, that all the house, who were puzzled with it, admired him and his pleading it so, that the whole bench took notice of him. He was called to the bar at six years standing, which in that age was held very extraordinary. He has himself informed us, that the first cause he moved in the King's-bench was in Trinity-term, 1578; when he was council for Mr. Edward Denny, vicar of Northlinham, in the county of Norfolk, in an action of *Scandalum magnatum*, brought against him by Henry lord Cromwell. This was a remarkable

markable cause, an account of which may be found in our Author's Reports.

About this time he was appointed reader of Lyon's Inn, in which office he continued three years; and his learned lectures were much resorted to, and applauded. His reputation increased very fast, and he came into great practice: and when he had been at the bar about seven years, he married Bridget, daughter and co-heiress of John Paston, Esq; a lady of one of the best families in the county of Norfolk, and who brought him thirty thousand pounds.

After this marriage, by which he became allied to some of the noblest houses in the kingdom, he began to rise very fast. The cities of Coventry and Norwich chose him their recorder; and he was engaged in all the great causes in Westminster-hall. He was also in high credit with the lord-treasurer Burleigh, and was frequently consulted in the queen's affairs. His large estate, and his great credit in his country, as well as at court, recommended him to the freeholders of his county, by whom he was chosen knight of the shire; and in the parliament held in the 35th of Elizabeth, he was chosen speaker of the house of commons, being at that time the queen's solicitor, which was bestowed upon him in 1592; and, soon after, he was appointed attorney-general.

Some time after this, Mr. Coke lost his wife, by whom he had ten children; but he afterwards paid his addresses to another lady of great fortune and quality. This was the lady Hatton, relict of Sir William Hatton, and sister to Thomas lord Burleigh, afterwards earl of Exeter. But this new marriage, however honourable and advantageous it might appear to be, made no addition to Coke's domestic felicity; on the contrary, as he and his

lady were frequently on very ill terms with each other, it proved a source of much unhappiness. Indeed, the very celebration of their marriage occasioned no small noise and disquiet, by an unlucky accident that attended it. There had been in the same year, 1598, so much notice taken of irregular marriages, that archbishop Whitgift had signified to the bishops of his province, that he expected they should be very diligent in causing all such persons to be prosecuted as were guilty of any irregularity in the celebration of marriage, in point of time, form, or place. But whether it was that Mr. Coke looked upon his own and the lady's quality, and their being married with the consent of the family, as setting them above such restrictions, or whether he did not advert to them, certain it is, that they were married in a private house, without either banns or licence. Upon which, Mr. Coke and his new-married lady, Mr. Henry Bothwell, rector of Okover, in the county of Rutland, Thomas lord Burleigh, and several other persons, were prosecuted in the archbishop's court; but upon their submission by their proxies, they were absolved from excommunication, and the penalties consequent upon it; because, says the record, they offended not out of contumacy, but through ignorance of the law in that point.

The affair of most importance, in which as attorney-general he had a share in the reign of Elizabeth, was the prosecution of the earl of Essex, against whom he pleaded with great acrimony. In May, 1603, he was knighted by king James; and in November the same year, he managed the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh at Winchester, to which city the term was adjourned on account of the plague being at London: but he inveighed against that great and brave man with such bitterness, insolence,

folence, and cruelty, and with so much scurrility of language, as greatly lessened him in the general opinion of the world.

Sir Edward Coke, however, soon after obtained great credit by the sagacity and vigilance which he discovered in unravelling all the dark scenes of that remarkable instance of the bloody and vindictive spirit of Popery, the gunpowder-plot; and by his admirable management of the evidence against Sir Everard Digby, and the rest of the conspirators tried at Westminster on the 27th of June, 1605, and at the trial of Henry Garnett at Guildhall, on the 28th of March following; on both which occasions he gave the most convincing proofs of his extensive capacity, quick penetration, and solid judgment; so that Cecil, earl of Salisbury, observed in his speech upon the last trial, that the evidence had been so well distributed and opened by the attorney-general, that he had never heard such a mass of matter better contracted, nor made more intelligible to the jury. This appears to have been so true, that many now esteem this last speech to be Sir Edward Coke's master-piece.

On the 27th of June the same year, he was appointed lord-chief-justice of the Common-pleas. And the motto which he gave upon his rings, when he was called to the degree of serjeant, in order to qualify him for this promotion, was, *Lex est tutissima cassis*; i. e. the law is the safest helmet. When he had held this post for seven years with great reputation, he was, on the 25th of October, 1613, made lord-chief-justice of the King's-bench; and on the 4th of November was sworn of his majesty's privy-council.

Sir Edward Coke's profound skill in the common law enabled him to discharge the duties of his important station with eminent ability. On the bench

bench he was above corruption ; and had this saying frequently in his mouth, that a judge should neither give nor take a bribe. And though, whilst he held the post of attorney-general, he had been too ready to countenance and support the despotic measures of James and his ministers, yet, now he was advanced to the dignity of lord-chief-justice, the court found him, in several instances, no friend to arbitrary will and pleasure, or to the prerogative, as it was called ; but resolutely bent to maintain the integrity and honour of his post.

In 1614, Mr. Peacham, a clergyman, was accused of inserting in a sermon several passages accounted treasonable, for it seems they reflected on the ministry, but in a sermon never preached, nor ever intended to be made public. The king, who was beyond measure jealous on this head, fearing the man might either be acquitted on his trial, or not condemned to a capital punishment, had ordered his attorney-general, Bacon, to sound the judges before-hand, and gather their opinions secretly and apart. But the lord-chief-justice Coke absolutely refused to declare his ; looking on this auricular taking of opinions, for so he named it, as not according to the customs of the realm, but new, and of pernicious tendency. It was, indeed, directly contrary to his own sound maxim, that he was a judge in a court, and not in a chamber. But, notwithstanding this, it appears that Mr. Peacham was tried and convicted of high treason. In a cause of the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, to whom the king had granted a vacant church in commendam, Sir Edward Coke also behaved with honesty and firmness, and made it evident, that he knew that a judge ought neither to be flattered nor menaced out of his integrity. Serjeant Chiborne, who was council against the bishop, in arguing
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the case, had maintained several positions, reckoned prejudicial and derogatory to the king's supreme and imperial power, which was affirmed to be distinct from, and of an higher nature than, his ordinary authority. Informed of this, James, by his attorney-general Bacon, ordered his judges to stay farther proceedings in that business, till they had consulted with him. The judges assembled, and unanimously agreed, that they could not obey this order; that the letter they had received was contrary to law; that, by their oath and the duty of their places, they were not to delay justice; that they should therefore proceed in the cause at the time fixed: and of this they certified the king in a writing under all their hands. Upon this remonstrance, he wrote them an angry letter, and peremptorily commanded them to stay all proceedings, till his return to London. They were then summoned before the council, and sharply reprimanded for suffering the popular lawyers to question his prerogative; which was represented as sacred and transcendent, not to be handled or mentioned in vulgar argument. At last, raising his voice, to frighten them into submission, he put this question to them severally: If, at any time, in a case depending before the judges, he conceived it to concern him either in profit or power, and thereupon required to consult with them, and that they should stay proceedings in the mean time, whether they ought not to stay them accordingly? They all, the chief-justice only excepted, acknowledged it their duty to do so. His answer deserves to be for ever remembered: "That when such a case happened, he would do that which should be fit for a judge to do."

About this time, Sir Edward Coke, having determined a particular case at common law, the plain-

plaintiff, who thought himself injured, would not abide by his decision, but applied to chancery for relief, where the defendant refused to appear, disclaiming the authority of that court; in which he was supported by the chief-justice, who threatened the chancellor with a *premunire*, grounded on a statute made in the 27th year of Edward III. for thus invading the limits of his jurisdiction. The king, who thought his prerogative struck at anew in this attack on the court of his absolute power, as Bacon styled it, had the matter examined before the council, who censured the chief-justice Coke for what he had done. Nor is this to be wondered at, as they knew the disposition of the king, from the hints he let fall in a speech he made upon this occasion in the Star-chamber court. "The mystery," says James, "of the king's power is not lawful to be disputed; for such a dispute seems to weed into the weakness of sovereigns, and diminishes the mystical reverence of those that sit on the throne of God." And he added the following advice to the judges: "Keep yourselves within compass, give me my right of private prerogative, I shall acquiesce. As for the prerogative of the crown, it is not for a lawyer's tongue, nor lawful to be disputed. It is Atheism to dispute what God can do, his revealed will ought to content us; so it is contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can or cannot do. The law is his revealed will." In short, the same man, who in his first speech to his parliament, after his accession, declared himself to be only the chief servant of the state, made his whole inglorious reign one continued struggle for arbitrary power, disputing every inch of ground with his subjects, when they contended for their legal rights, against his idle claims of prerogative, and at the same time suffering the honour as well as the

the rights of his crown to be insulted in foreign countries, not only by the natural enemies of England, but even by her allies; not daring to punish the most flagrant acts of depredation, injustice, and cruelty, committed by foreigners on the persons and effects of his subjects, while he prosecuted at home, with unremitted rigour, those who presumed to limit or controul his royal will and pleasure, by making it submit to the laws of the land.

In 1615, Sir Edward Coke was concerned in the judicial proceedings against the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, in which affair he exerted himself, and as some thought in a manner highly to be applauded; but his enemies, who were numerous, and had formed a design to mortify him, took occasion, from some circumstances, to represent him in an unfavourable light, both to the king and to the people. Many things concurred at this time to hasten Sir Edward Coke's disgrace, and different causes are assigned for it by different writers. His conduct, in his judicial capacity, had upon many occasions been very unfavourable to the policy of king James's court; and he had likewise highly offended the new favourite, Sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham.

The author of the notes on Wilson's Life of King James, published in Kennet's Complete History of England, observes, "That Sir Edward Coke lost the king's favour, and some time after his place, for letting fall some words upon one of the trials, importing his suspicions that Overbury had been poisoned to prevent the discovery of another crime of the same nature, committed upon one of the highest rank, whom he termed a sweet prince, which was taken to be meant of prince Henry."

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But whatever were the secret causes of his fall, the manner of it was to the last degree humiliating, and shews how obnoxious he had made himself to administration; for, in an unprecedented manner, he was obliged to kneel before the privy-council at Whitehall, on the 20th of June, 1616, and several vague accusations were preferred against him by Yelverton, the solicitor-general, importing, amongst other things, “speeches of high contempt uttered in the seat of justice, and uncomely and undutiful carriage in the presence of his majesty, the privy-council, and the judges.” It must likewise be remembered, that he had a powerful enemy in Sir Francis Bacon, who had been raised to the dignity of lord chancellor the preceding month, and now took an opportunity at once to recriminate on his old antagonist, and to shew his zeal in the cause of his royal master, whom Coke had offended.

The lord-chief-justice, in a most learned and upright manner, exculpated himself from the several charges brought against him, in support of which no evidence whatever was tendered; but his removal being predetermined, he was brought a second time to the council-board, when Winwood, one of the secretaries of state, informed him, that the king had decreed, *first*, That he should be sequestered from the council-table, until his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. *Secondly*, That he should forbear to ride his summer-circuit as justice of the assize. *Thirdly*, That during this vacation, while he had time to live privately, and dispose himself at home, he should review his books of Reports; wherein, as his majesty was informed, were many extravagant and exorbitant opinions, set down and published for positive and good law. And, having corrected what in his discretion he found meet in these reports, it was his majesty's plea-

pleasure, that he should bring the same privately to himself, that he might consider thereof, as in his princely judgment should be found expedient. Among other things, the king disliked the title of those books, wherein Coke styled himself lord-chief-justice of England; whereas he could challenge no more, as it was alleged, than lord-chief-justice of the King's-Bench. Sir Edward submitted himself to his majesty's commands; yet, on the 3d of October, he was cited before the lord-chancellor, who in an imperious manner forbade him Westminster-hall, and also ordered him to answer several exceptions against his Reports. The following month, the king dismissed him from his office of lord-chief-justice; and Sir Francis Bacon was greatly censured, not only for having promoted his fall, but for insulting him after it, by illiberal reproaches unworthy the gentleman, the philosopher, and the scholar, in a kind of remonstrance respecting his former conduct, softened by the title of "an Admonitory Letter." The whole of this letter, in which the pique of a rival is discernible in every line, is printed in the Supplement to *the Cabala*.

The pretexts for the removal of Sir Edward Coke were so frivolous, that he suffered no disgrace from it in the eyes of the people; and if he had shewn that noble fortitude and steadiness upon the occasion, which the publick had a right to expect from a man of his learning and integrity, he might have ranked in the list of suffering patriots, whose virtues could not be endured in the palaces of weak despotic princes. But unfortunately, either from a love of power, or more probably with a view of triumphing once more over the chancellor, whom he had foiled in court-policy at their outset in life, he was persuaded to take a mean step to recover

recover the king's favour, and to be restored to his office.

While he was chief-justice, he had refused to give his daughter in marriage to Sir John Villiers, brother to the duke of Buckingham, and had even treated the proposal with great contempt; but now he submissively intreated the same person to honour him with this alliance, and employed secretary Winwood, who had pronounced his sentence of disgrace, to express his concern for what had formerly dropped from him, with regard to his brother, and to solicit the favourite to promote the match; which accordingly took place, but not without some difficulty; for lady Hatton, Sir Edward Coke's wife, resenting her husband's attempt to dispose of her daughter without her consent, carried away the young lady, and lodged her at the house of one of her relations. Upon this, Sir Edward wrote immediately to Buckingham, to procure a warrant from the privy-council to restore his daughter to him; but before he received an answer, discovering where she was, he went with his sons, and took her by force, which occasioned lady Hatton to complain in her turn to the privy-council. The treaty of marriage now went forward without farther obstruction; and, as a preliminary to its conclusion, Sir Edward, by Buckingham's interest, was re-instated at the council-table. Soon after, the marriage was solemnized with great pomp at Hampton-court; but as interest was the motive with the two brothers, notwithstanding the lady was accounted a great beauty, it proved a very unhappy connection, Sir John Villiers neglecting his wife, who recriminated by indulging a criminal passion for Sir Robert Howard. As for Sir Edward, it was obvious that ambition had made him blind to all other considerations; for having offered to
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Buckingham, that he should make his own terms for his brother, they insisted upon 10,000 l. in money, and the conveyance of a real estate of 900 l. per annum to Sir John Villiers for his life, besides an annual rent-charge of 2000 marks; by which settlement, Sir Edward's income was considerably diminished, and the quarrel between him and his lady brought to an open rupture. Many letters, which passed between them at the time and soon after their daughter's marriage, are still preserved, which shew not only the great animosity subsisting between them, but likewise that several persons of the first quality in the kingdom made themselves parties in this domestic quarrel; when, at length, the king himself taking upon him to adjust their differences, a reconciliation took place. Sir Edward could not be re-instated in his office of chief-justice, as the king had disposed of it to another person; but he was employed in many affairs of importance, and particularly in 1619 he was commissioned, with several others, to confer with the deputies of the States General, concerning the differences between the Dutch and the English East-India companies.

In 1621 the king called a parliament, of which Sir Edward Coke was chosen a member; and he now distinguished himself by a noble exertion of his great talents, and of that influence which his age and experience gave him in the house of commons, in support of the rights and privileges of parliament, against the usurped ministerial power of the crown. He spoke with great warmth against many of the court-measures; and observed, that the Papists were at the root of all the public calamities of England, and that no prohibition of the king could set aside the right of parliament to enumerate them amongst their grievances. He observed,

observed, that the rights and privileges of parliament were a part of the constitution, subsisting independently of the royal prerogative; that they were, in fact, the rights of the subject; and that no proclamation could be of any force against an act of parliament. He recommended, that the act passed in the reign of Edward III. for holding a parliament every year, that the people might have an opportunity to complain of public grievances, might be enforced. He likewise asserted the right of freedom of speech in parliament, and vigorously contended for a committee to enquire into the national grievances.

In consequence of this spirited behaviour, the commons began to take the measures of administration into serious consideration, which exceedingly alarmed the king, who, with his usual jealousy concerning his prerogative, took great pains to prevent any impressions that might be made on the people without doors, by the behaviour of Sir Edward and others in parliament.

With this view, he issued a proclamation, commanding all persons, from the highest to the lowest, “not to intermeddle, by pen or speech, with state concernments and secrets of empire, either at home or abroad, which were not fit themes or subjects for vulgar persons, or common meetings.” And he even gave his parliament to understand, that he thought matters of state were above their comprehension, and ought to be left entirely to his own princely wisdom. He also intimated, that the liberty of speech claimed by them, as well as their other privileges, proceeded from royal grace and favour, which they might be deprived of at his majesty’s pleasure. It was now high time for the house of commons to be alarmed in their turn at the unconstitutional language of the king, who was
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supported in his wild notions of the royal prerogative by his favourite the duke of Buckingham. Accordingly, the public avowal of doctrines, subversive of the rights of the representatives of the people, having given great offence to the house, they resolved to assert their rights; and the following resolution, being drawn up, and passed by a very great majority, was ordered to be entered in their Journals:

“The commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning fundry liberties, and franchises, and privileges of parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following. That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the antient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England; and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest; and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (except by censure of the house itself), for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament, or parliament-business; and that, if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for any thing done or said in parliament, the same is to be shewed to the king by the advice and assent of

of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credit to any private information."

The king, who was in the country when this protestation was made, was so enraged at it, that he hurried to town, and sending for the journals of the house of commons, he imperiously tore out the protestation with his own hand, declaring it to be null and void, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. He also prorogued the parliament; and on the 27th day of December, Sir Edward Coke, on account of his patriotic conduct in the house, was committed to the Tower, his chambers in the Temple broken open, and his papers delivered to Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Wilson to examine. On the 6th of January, 1622, his majesty dissolved the parliament; and the same day Sir Edward Coke was accused before the council of having concealed some true examinations, in the great cause of the earl of Somerset, and obtruding false ones. But these allegations the court could not support by any evidence, and therefore could find no pretence to detain him in custody; and the utmost extent of ministerial resentment was obliged to be limited to striking him off once more from the list of privy-counsellors.

The nation was now in a flame, being justly incensed against the tyrant James, whose proceedings against this parliament laid the foundation of his son's misfortunes; and he may be said to have plunged the dagger into the bosom of Charles, by the desperate act of tearing out the protestation from the journals of the house of commons. For the people now knew what they had to expect from the race of Stuarts, whom they had exalted to the throne

throne of England; and they were not to learn that the prince of Wales was, both by nature and education, more arbitrary in his disposition than the king himself.

Towards the close of the year 1623, Sir Edward Coke was placed at the head of a commission, appointing fundry persons named therein to go over to Ireland and regulate the affairs of that kingdom, which were in great confusion. The powers granted to the commissioners were very ample, and the promotion appeared to be highly honourable for Sir Edward; but his friends discovering that it was only intended to remove him from the service of his country in parliament, he refused to undertake this business, and was thereby thrown into great disgrace with the court and the ministry, during the remainder of the reign of James I.

The same fate attended him when Charles I. came to the throne, whose ministers were so apprehensive of a powerful opposition to be formed under his influence in the house of commons, that they advised the new king to take a very unfair method of preventing his being elected to serve in his first parliament. After having held employments under the government, of the first dignity, it was trespassing against all the rules of decency and custom to oblige him to serve the office of high-sheriff, which however the court insisted on, menacing him with a heavy fine, in case of refusal. Sir Edward made some legal objections to the oath, but in vain, for they were over-ruled by the judges; and this great man was now compelled to attend them as high-sheriff at the assizes, where he had often presided as chief-justice.

But this parliament proving refractory and un-complying, and insisting on a redress of grievances, before they would grant supplies to carry on the

war, which had been declared against Spain and the emperor of Germany in 1624, they were dissolved, after a short session of seven weeks ; and a second parliament was called in 1626, when the commons continuing to remonstrate against the duke of Buckingham's administration, and against the king's levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without authority of parliament, this second parliament was rashly dissolved, without passing one act, after a session of four months. During that time they had carried up an impeachment to the house of lords against the duke of Buckingham, and the king had begun the first act of his own tragedy, by causing Sir Dudley Diggs and Sir John Elliot, the two members who carried up the impeachment against Buckingham, to be committed to the Tower. The earl of Bristol was likewise sent to the Tower on the very day the parliament was dissolved, for having exhibited articles of high treason in the house of lords against the favourite.

These measures occasioning general discontent throughout the kingdom, Charles issued a ridiculous declaration, containing the pretended causes of his dissolving the two last parliaments ; and at the same time appeared an order of council, directly flying in the face of the constitution ; for it authorised the levying of tonnage and poundage by virtue of the royal prerogative. Various other shameful methods were taken by the king to raise money for his support without the consent of parliament, such as the sale of the crown-lands, loans, and ship-money ; of the last of which more ample mention will be made in the life of our illustrious Patriot, John Hampden. With respect to the loans, it must be observed, that soon after the dissolution of the second parliament, the court grew so arbitrary, that several gentlemen were

were committed to the common gaols of the kingdom, for refusing to lend the king money ; and some citizens of note were pressed for soldiers on the same account.

But all compulsive schemes of raising supplies being found ineffectual to answer the end proposed by Charles and his ministry, which was to govern without a parliament, they saw themselves under a necessity of assembling a third in March 1628 ; and as it was impossible to fall upon any stratagem to exclude Sir Edward Coke, he was now elected knight of the shire for the county of Bucks ; and became as eminent in the house of commons, as he had formerly been in Westminster-hall : no member spoke more warmly for the redress of grievances, argued more boldly in defence of the liberty of the subject, or more strenuously supported the privileges of parliament.

At length, the five following gentlemen, whose names deserve to be remembered with honour, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbett, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmund Hampden, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay some illegal contributions demanded by the king, were determined, at their own expence and peril, to assert the liberty of the subject, and to demand their discharge, not as a matter of favour, which some had foolishly done by petition to the king, but as their right by the laws of the land. The trial of this point was brought on in the court of King's-bench, where the judges refused either to set the gentlemen at liberty, or to accept good bail which was offered for them ; Heath, the attorney-general, insisting that the court should enter this general judgment, " that no bail could be granted, upon a commitment by the king and council." But the judges did not care to carry their compli-

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ance with the king's will and pleasure to such an extremity. As for Sir Edward Coke, he distinguished himself upon this occasion, in the house of commons, by a most learned, elaborate speech, in which he laid the whole stress of his reasoning, says an able historian, upon one point, that of proving, that if freemen of England might be imprisoned at the will and pleasure of the king, or at his commandment, then were they in worse case than bondmen, or villains. He proved this point by a chain of unanswerable arguments, both from reason and law. He then entered upon a deep discussion of the principles of the constitution in point of personal liberty; and concluded by shewing, that no virtuous operations of state could be affected by leaving to subjects that jewel which not only distinguishes freemen from slaves, but the living from the dead.

The spirited conduct of Sir Edward influenced the majority of the house, as it had awed the judges not to enter the above-mentioned general judgment; and it was now resolved, that some new law should be enacted, for the better security of the rights and privileges of the people. But previous to bringing in a bill for this purpose, it was thought proper to draw up a declaration of those rights and privileges, and to present it to the king, under the denomination of "*The Petition of Right*," praying, among other particulars, "1. That no loan or tax might be levied but by consent of parliament. 2. That no man might be imprisoned but by legal process. 3. That soldiers might not be quartered on people against their wills. 4. That no commissions be granted for executing martial law." Sir Edward had a principal hand in framing this famous petition, and in advising the commons not to rely any longer upon the king's awful promises, calculated

to evade giving a direct answer. In the debates upon this subject, he made the following manly, and free remarks: "Was it ever known, that general words were a sufficient satisfaction for particular grievances? Was ever a verbal declaration of the king (esteemed to be) the word of the sovereign? When grievances are complained of, the parliament is to redress them. Did ever the parliament rely on messages? They have ever put up petitions of their grievances; and the king has ever answered them. The king's message is very gracious; but what is the law of the realm, that is the question? I put no diffidence in his majesty, but the king must speak by record, and in particulars. Did you ever know the king's message come into a bill of subsidies? All succeeding kings will say, *Ye must trust me, as You did my predecessor, and you must have the same confidence in my messages.* But messages of love never come into a parliament. Let us put up a petition of right: not that I distrust the king; but that I cannot give trust but in a parliamentary way."

The king was extremely unwilling to pass the petition of right into a law, and made use of a variety of artifices to evade it. The lords sent down propositions to the commons, in which the prerogative was preserved; and the ministry had an opportunity left of oppressing the subject, under pretence of reasons of state. Sir Thomas Coventry, lord-keeper of the great-seal, assured them, that his majesty had commanded him to let them know, that he held the statute of Magna Charta, and the other six statutes which had been insisted on for the subjects liberty, to be all in force; and that he would maintain all his subjects in the just freedom of their persons, and safety of their estates; that he would govern them according to the laws and sta-

tutes of this realm; and that they should find as much security in his majesty's royal word and promise, as in the strength of any law they could make; so that hereafter they should have no cause to complain. But this did not suffice; the king therefore sent a message by Mr. secretary Cook, to know whether the house would rest on his royal word, declared to them by the lord-keeper, which if they did, he assured them it should be royally performed. The commons, however, still adhered inviolably to their resolution of having a public remedy, as there had been a public violation of the laws, and of the liberty of the subject; and so by their speaker declared to the king, who then replied, in a manner not very gracious, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, that "he was content a bill should be drawn for a confirmation of Magna Charta, and the other six statutes, if they chose that as the best way, but so as it might be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations." Yet the bill still met with delays; and the commons were again urged by the secretary of state to rely on the royal word. The king likewise wrote a letter to the house of peers, in which he declared, "that without the overthrow of the sovereignty, he could not suffer the power of commitment (without shewing cause) to be impeached;" upon which, the lords wanted to amend the bill, by adding a saving clause, with respect to the sovereign power, in extraordinary cases. This, however, was rejected; and the two houses having in the end agreed, the petition of right, now in the form of a bill, was read the first time on the 2d of June, 1628; and the king's answer was thus delivered to it: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have

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no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." This answer did not satisfy the commons, who saw through the evasion; and the king insisted, for some time, that he would give no other: but, at last, upon the petition of both houses, he gave another in the usual form, when bills obtain the royal assent: *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré*, "Let justice be done as it is desired;" and with this they were content.

But though Charles was thus in a manner compelled to give the royal assent to an act for securing the liberties and property of his subjects, he took care to shew how displeasing the conduct of parliament had been to him; and, in order to prevent any farther molestation from this respectable body, he sent a message to the house of commons by their speaker, Sir John Finch, to acquaint them, that he had fixed a day for putting an end to their session, and therefore required, that they should not enter upon any new business, or lay any aspersions on the government, or the ministers thereof. This produced a warm debate, in which Sir John Elliot, with his accustomed freedom, threw out some reflections upon the duke of Buckingham; whereupon the speaker rose, and addressed him in these words: "There is a command upon me, that I must command you not to proceed." A profound silence, the effect of astonishment, prevailed in the house for some time; at length it was resolved into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration what was to be done upon this extraordinary occasion; and it was ordered that no member should leave the house, on pain of being committed to the Tower. The speaker, however, de-

firing to withdraw, had leave so to do; and Mr. Whitby being in the chair, Sir Edward Coke, for the last time, stood forth an able champion in the cause of his country; and made the following speech, which does honour to his memory, and may be said to have been the legal ground upon which the opposition to the measures of a determined tyrant proceeded.

“ We have dealt with that duty and moderation that never was the like, *Rebus sic stantibus*; after such a violation of the liberties of the subject, let us take this to heart. In the 30th Edward III. were they then in doubt in parliament to name men that misled the king? They accused John de Gaunt, the king's son, and Lord Latimer, and Lord Nevil, for misadvising the king; and they went to the Tower for it. Now, when there is such a downfall of the state, shall we hold our tongues? How shall we answer our duties to God and men? The 7th of Henry IV. Parl. Rot. No. 31, 32, and the 11th of Henry IV. No. 13, there the council are complained of, and are removed from the king; they mewed up the king, and dissuaded him from the common good; and why are we now retired from that way we were in? Why may we not name those that are the cause of all our evils? In the 4th of Henry III. the 27th of Edward III. and 13th of Richard II. the parliament moderated the king's prerogative, and nothing grows to abuse but this house hath power to treat of it. What shall we do? Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not prosper us. I think the duke of Buckingham is the cause of all our miseries; and till the king be informed thereof, we shall never go out with honour, or sit with honour here; that man is the grievance of all grievances; let us set down the causes of all our disasters, and all will reflect upon him.”

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The duke of Buckingham survived this debate only two months; but his untimely death made no alteration in the king's conduct, who being resolved to stake his crown in support of illegal prerogatives, no man could come into power who was not tainted with the same principles; and Charles found in Richard lord Weston, whom he created earl of Portland, and promoted to the office of lord-high-treasurer, Wentworth earl of Strafford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, and William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, such zealous assertors of the prerogative, that they precipitated him into worse measures than those which had been advised by Buckingham. For, the parliament meeting again in January, 1629, and proceeding with more earnestness upon their grievances, instead of settling the duties of tonnage and poundage on the king for life, which he required, Charles and his ministry lost all patience, and by one mad action proclaimed war against the inherent rights of the people of England. The commons having prepared a remonstrance against the king's conduct in ordering some custom-house officers to seize the merchandize of Mr. Rolles, for refusing to pay the duties of tonnage and poundage, warrants were issued by the privy-council for taking into custody nine of their members who had been the most active in drawing up the remonstrance, and the most undutiful, in the opinion of the court, in their speeches in parliament. Four of them were brought before the council, and refusing to be answerable for what they said or did in parliament, they were committed to the Tower, and then the customary (but fatal) expedient in this reign took place of dissolving the parliament: immediately after which, prosecutions were set on foot against the nine members in the court of star-chamber; and as for those who were prisoners in

in the Tower, they were refused the benefit of the *habeas corpus*, for admitting them to bail; and rejecting the offers of the ministry to bail them, or to release them on their submission, they remained in confinement; and Sir John Elliot and some others died in prison.

Here let it be observed, that most of our historians, in reasoning upon the tragical events of these unhappy times, have taken up the contest respecting who began the civil war, the king or the parliament, at a wrong period. The true æra of the king's declaration of war against his own subjects, and which makes their rising in arms afterwards appear to be no more than constitutional recrimination, is that of his seizing Mr. Rolles's effects, and the commitment of the members of the house of commons for doing their duty as faithful representatives of the people in parliament. And, surely, no man who has a drop of patriotism in his blood, can hesitate to pronounce Charles I. to be an inhuman tyrant, when he finds it upon record, that virtuous representatives of the people, who refused to betray their trust, either by giving up their rights, or by making a mean submission to an abandoned ministry, for having dared to do their duty, died in a prison, to which they were despotically condemned by a man, who had solemnly sworn at his coronation to govern according to the laws and customs of the realm.

Sir Edward Coke, after the dissolution of this parliament, retired into the country; and Charles having governed without calling another during the remainder of Sir Edward's life, we have no farther account of this great man, but that he died at Stoke-Poggis in Buckinghamshire in 1634, and that the resentment of the court was carried to such a pitch against him, that, while he lay upon his death-

death-bed, Sir Francis Windebank, one of the secretaries of state, by an order of council, searched his house for seditious and dangerous papers; under the colour of which pretext and order, he feloniously carried off his "Commentary upon Littleton, with his Life prefixed, written with his own hand. His Commentary upon Magna Charta, &c. His Pleas of the Crown, and the Jurisdiction of Courts. His 11th and 12th Reports in manuscript, and fifty-one other manuscripts." Likewise his last will, wherein he had for several years been making provision for his younger grandchildren. The books and papers were detained till one of his sons moved the house of commons in 1641, that the books and papers taken by Sir Francis Windebank, might be delivered to Sir Robert Coke, heir to Sir Edward; which the king, at the request of the house, immediately granted; and such of them as could be found were accordingly delivered up, but his will was never recovered.

Sir Edward Coke was esteemed, in his practice at the bar and on the bench, to be one of the ablest lawyers England ever produced; and he valued himself upon deriving his fortune, his reputation, and his preferments, not from solicitations, bribery, or adulation, but from his profound knowledge in the law. And he was so greatly honoured, and beloved by the gentlemen of the profession, that, when he was prosecuted by the court in the reign of James I. Sir John Walter, though attorney-general to Charles prince of Wales, and therefore in a manner obliged to it officially, refused to plead against him, and laid the brief aside, which had been sent to him by the court, making use of this remarkable sentence upon the occasion: "Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, whenever I open it against Sir Edward Coke." His reputation,

tion, as a law-writer, is so firmly established in our courts, that his works are considered as undeniable authorities; for which reason, it is proper to annex the following list of them.

I. The first part of the REPORTS of Sir Edward Coke, knight, her majesty's attorney-general, of diverse resolutions and judgments, given with great deliberation by the reverend judges and sages of the law, of cases and matters in law, which were never resolved, or adjudged before. And the reasons and causes of the said resolutions and judgments during the most happy reign of the most illustrious and renowned queen Elizabeth, &c." It appears from the preface, that this work was published about the year 1600. The *second* and *third* parts of his REPORTS were published in the same reign. The *fourth*, *fifth*, *sixth*, *seventh*, *eighth*, *ninth*, *tenth*, and *eleventh* parts, were published at different times in the reign of James I. and these are all that were published by himself. The *twelfth* part hath a printed certificate prefixed, dated Feb. 2, 1655; and subscribed E. B. Strode, purporting that he conceives it to be the genuine work of Sir Edward Coke. The *thirteenth* part is intituled, "Select Cases in Law, reported by Sir Edward Coke;" and these are asserted to be his in a preface, signed with the initial letters J. G.

II. A Book of Entries, containing perfect and approved precedents of courts, declarations, information, complaints, indictments, bars, duplications, rejoinders, pleadings, processes, continuances, escoigns, issues, defaults, departure in despite of the court, demurrers, trials, judgments, executions, and all other matters and proceedings (in effect) concerning the practice part of the laws of England, in actions real, personal, mixt, and in appeals; being very necessary to be known, and of excellent use

use for the modern practice of the law, many of them containing matters in law, and points of great learning; collected and published for the common good and benefit of all the studious and learned professors of the laws of England, folio, 1614. This elaborate performance was intended as a supplement to his Reports.

III. Institutes of the Laws of England. This work is divided into four parts. The *first* contains his translation from the Latin, and comment upon the tenures of the Common-pleas, in the reign of Edward IV. The *second* part contains *Magna Charta*, and several other statutes, more correct than they were to be met with in any other work. The *third* part contains the criminal law, or pleas of the crown. The *fourth* and last part comprehends the jurisdiction of all the courts in this kingdom, from the high court of parliament down to the court-baron.

Several smaller tracts have been also published, which were written by Sir Edward Coke; particularly, The complete Copyholder, Readings on the Statute of Fines, 27 Edw. I. and a treatise of Bail and Mainprize.

* * * *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Guthrie's and Hume's Hist. of England. Rushworth's Historical Collections. British Biography, 8vo. Vol. IV.

THE LIFE OF
SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH,
EARL of STRAFFORD.

(A. D. 1593, to 1641.)

THOMAS WENTWORTH was the son of Sir William Wentworth, baronet, and of Anne, daughter and heir to Sir Robert Atkins of Stowell, in the County of Gloucester, knight. He was born in London, on the thirteenth of April, 1593. He received his academical education in St. John's College, Cambridge, where he used great diligence and application, and made great progress in learning. On his quitting the university, he travelled abroad for farther accomplishments.

In the year 1614, by his father's death, he came into possession of his baronet's title, and the family estate, of the value of 6000*l.* per annum, and was appointed Custos Rotulorum for the county of York. He represented this county in parliament several times; but more particularly in the new parliament called on the accession of Charles I. in which he steadily opposed the arbitrary measures of the court. His eloquence gave him such powerful influence in the house of commons, that the king nominated him high-sheriff of Yorkshire in 1626, to prevent his being chosen member of parliament.

parliament. The same year, he was put in confinement for refusing to contribute to the loan, then exacted by Charles I. In the parliament in 1628, he signalized himself as a patriot, upon occasion of the inquiry made into the grievances of the nation by the commons. The abuses which they took into consideration were billeting of soldiers, loans by benevolence and privy-seals, imprisonment of gentlemen refusing to lend the king money, and denial of release upon a habeas corpus; and, amongst many speeches made upon this occasion, none were taken more notice of than that made by Sir Thomas Wentworth against the government. But he observed that those things were not to be imputed to the king, but to his ministers, who had formed the design of stretching the prerogative beyond its due bounds. "They have brought the crown into greater want than ever," said he, "by anticipating the revenues: and can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the sheep not scattered? They have introduced a privy-council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government, imprisoning us without either bail or bond. They have taken from us—what! What shall I say? Indeed, what have they left us? They have taken from us all means of supplying the king, and ingratiating ourselves with him, by tearing up the root of all property."

As he was one of the greatest characters then in England, the king could not but be sensible, that his parts and capacity might be highly serviceable to him if he could gain him to his side. He endeavoured it therefore, after, or perhaps before, the dissolution of the parliament, and succeeded so well, that Wentworth, before the end of the session, became one of the most strenuous supporters of the despotic

despotic power which the king had a mind to introduce.

One of the bribes, by which this frail man was bought off from the service of his country against the encroachments of tyranny, was the presidentship of the council in the north. He was at the same time created baron Wentworth, of Wentworth-woodhouse; and, on the tenth of December following, viscount Wentworth of the same place, and was made one of the privy-council. At first he was ashamed of his apostacy, and concealed his change of sentiments; but at length he desired an interview with Mr. Pym, to persuade him to continue his associate, and to justify his conduct. Mr. Pym said to him upon this occasion: "You have left us, but we will not leave you, whilst your head is on your shoulders." To complete his change beyond a doubt of recantation, he now contracted an intimate friendship and close connection with Archbishop Laud, whose second he became in all his persecuting practices.

During his presidentship in the north, he exercised his power with great severity; and in some cases even with childish insolence, particularly in that of Henry Bellasis, son to lord Falconberg, who was committed to prison for not having pulled off his hat to him, though he pleaded that he was talking to lord Fairfax; and that his face was turned another way.

His next preferment was to be lord-deputy of Ireland; and his administration in that kingdom was in a very high degree arbitrary and oppressive. When he arrived in Ireland, he was invested with more ample powers than had been granted to any of his predecessors. But he soon after solicited a farther extension of those powers, which he obtained,

tained, and declared, in vindication of his conduct, that Ireland was a conquered country. He treated the law with contempt; and declared, that he would make an act of state to be of equal power with an act of parliament. He had also, in letters to the king, and in the privy-council of England, urged Charles to measures of government of the most despotic kind.

In 1639, he was created baron of Raby, and earl of Strafford; and, the following year, he was also made knight of the garter. He had so entirely devoted himself to the king, that, in his two great offices of president of the court of York, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he had no other view but to stretch the prerogative-royal, and increase the king's revenues. His proud and haughty carriage had given no less offence to the public than his actions, whereby he strove to establish an arbitrary power. He was therefore considered by the people as one of the chief authors of their grievances, and was singled out as the first victim of their vengeance. Accordingly,

On the 11th of November, 1640, eight days after the opening of the long parliament, Mr. Pym, having obtained his request of the commons, that the doors of the house might be locked, and the outward room cleared of strangers, informed them, that there were several complaints against the earl of Strafford, which gave just grounds to accuse him of high-treason. The house, having received this information, immediately appointed a committee of seven, who withdrew into another room, and conferring together, reported shortly after, that it was their opinion, there was sufficient cause to impeach the earl of Strafford. Then Mr. Pym, after having harangued the house a long time, with all the force of his eloquence on the grievances of the nation,

tion, in conclusion, accused the earl of Strafford as the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age had ever produced. And when the resentment of the house was inflamed to its highest pitch, it was suddenly moved, and carried, “that the earl of Strafford be immediately impeached of high treason; and that Mr. Pym do carry up the said impeachment to the lords.”

He had orders also to tell the lords, that the commons would, in due time, produce the articles of accusation, and desired that the accused might, till then, be put in safe custody. The earl of Strafford, who was now in England, had that very day taken his place in the house of lords. He had been apprised that a design was formed to attack him: but, whether through pride, or a persuasion that, having done nothing without the king's authority, he was secure, he slighted the advice, and would be present in the parliament.

No sooner had the commons impeached the earl, but the lords committed him to the custody of the black-rod, and some days after sent him to the Tower. His impeachment was prepared, consisting of twenty-eight articles, respecting his conduct as president of the council in the north, as governor of Ireland, and as commander in chief, and privy-counsellor in England. But the process against him could not be got ready to be tried till the 22d of March, 1641. The trial lasted till the 12th of April, and then the commons, who had been present all the while, perceiving that the sentence would not prove as rigorous as they desired, resolved to proceed against the earl by way of bill of attainder.

They voted, therefore, on the 16th and 19th of April, that it was sufficiently proved, that the earl
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of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government into the realms of England and Ireland; and that, consequently, he was guilty of high-treason.

On the twenty-first of the same month, the bill of attainder was passed by a great majority, there being 204 for it, and 59 against it. The bill met with so great an opposition in the house of peers, that it was very doubtful whether it would be passed or thrown out; for which reason, on the 24th, a petition was presented to both houses subscribed by above forty thousand inhabitants of London, setting forth the causes of their suspicions and fears; and, amongst others, that justice was not yet executed upon the earl of Strafford; and that there was reason to dread some secret plot against the parliament.

On the 28th, the commons sent a message to the lords, that they had received information, that the earl of Strafford had a design to make his escape out of the Tower; that the guard about him was weak; and therefore desired, that he might be kept close prisoner, and his guards strengthened; to which the lords consented.

The first of May, the king came to the parliament, and made the following speech to both houses:

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I H A D not any intention to have spoken to you of this business this day, which is the great business of the earl of Strafford, because I would do nothing that might serve to hinder your occasions: but now it comes to pass, that, seeing of necessity
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I must have part in the judgment, I think it most necessary for me to declare my conscience therein. I am sure you all know that I have been present at the hearing of this great case, from the one end to the other; and I must tell you, that I cannot condemn him of high-treason; it is not fit for me to argue the business; I am sure you will not expect that; a positive doctrine best becomes the mouth of a prince; yet I must tell you three great truths, which I am sure nobody knows so well as myself.

“First, That I never had any intention of bringing over the Irish army into England; nor ever was advised by any body so to do. Secondly, That there was never any debate before me, neither in public council nor at private committee, of the disloyalty of my English subjects; nor ever had I any suspicion of them. Thirdly, I was never counselled by any one to alter the least of any of the laws of England, much less to alter all the laws. Nay, I must tell you this, I think nobody durst ever be so impudent to move me in it; for, if they had, I should have put such a mark upon them, and made them such an example, that all posterity should know my intentions by it; for my intention was ever to govern according to law, and no otherwise.

“I desire to be rightly understood. I told you, in my conscience I cannot condemn him of high-treason; yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanours: therefore I hope you may find a way to satisfy justice and your own fears, and not press upon my conscience. Yet I must declare unto you, that, to satisfy my people, I would do great matters; but this of conscience, no fear, no respect whatever, shall ever make me go against it. Certainly I have not so ill-deserved of the parliament at this time, that they should press me in this tender point,

point, and therefore I cannot expect that you will go about it. Nay, I must confess, for matters of misdemeanours, I am so clear in that, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet let me tell you, that I do think my lord of Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me, or the commonwealth, in any place of trust; no, not so much as that of a constable: therefore I leave it to you, my lords, to find some such way as may bring me out of this great streight, and keep ourselves and the kingdom from such great inconveniences. Certainly he that thinks him guilty of high-treason, in his conscience may condemn him of misdemeanours."

The earl of Clarendon insinuates, that the lord Say advised the king to make this speech, in order to draw him into a snare, and render the earl of Strafford's ruin more sure. Certain it is, when Strafford was told, by his overjoyed friends, that the king had made a warm speech in his favour to both houses, he received it as his doom; and told them, the king's kindness had ruined him, and that he had little else to do but prepare himself for death. Indeed, the commons were highly offended with the king's speech, saying, It was an unprecedented thing, that he should meddle with bills before they were presented to him; and that it had a tendency to take away the freedom of votes. Upon this they adjourned till Monday, the 3d of May; on which day, a great multitude at Westminster insulted and threatened the lords as they were going to the house, crying out, Justice! Justice!

It was no easy matter for the lords to avoid doing what the commons desired. In the first place, the commons had inspired the nation with such a terror, that no one durst oppose their resolutions, for fear of being thought to have ill designs, and exposed to inevitable ruin. Secondly, the people still continued to flock about Westminster, and openly threatened the lords. Thirdly, the multitude presented

presented the same day a petition to the lords, demanding justice against the earl of Strafford, and that their lordships would be pleased to free them from the fear of a conspiracy. Fourthly, on the morrow, being the fourth of May, the people getting together again at Westminster, in greater numbers than the day before, some persons pasted up against a wall in the Old Palace-yard the names of fifty-six members, and called them Straffordians, and betrayers of their country. Lastly, the same day the multitude presented to the lords another petition, saying, that they understood the Tower was going to receive a garrison of men, not of the hamlets as usually, but consisting of other persons, under the command of a captain, a great confident of the earl of Strafford's; which was done to make way for the earl's escape.

Upon this petition, the house sent six peers to go and examine Sir William Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, about the truth of the matter. Balfour answered, it was true, he had his majesty's order to receive one hundred men into the Tower, and captain Billingsley to command them, and to receive only such men as the captain should bring to him; but, understanding now their lordships pleasure, he would receive no other guard into the Tower but the hamlet-men.

The lords farther declared, at a conference with the commons, that they were drawing to a conclusion of the bill of attainder; but were so encompassed with multitudes of people, that they might be conceived not to be free; and therefore desired the commons to join with them, to find out some way to send the people to their homes. Then the commons debated the protestation which had before been drawn up in order to be signed by all the members; the purport of which was, that each member should do all that lay in his power to defend

send the religion of the church of England, and the privileges of parliament; and should likewise do all in his power to bring to condign punishment all that by force or conspiracy should do any thing against either.

This protestation being passed, and taken by four hundred and thirty-three commoners, and one hundred and six lords, including the bishops and judges, the commons ordered Dr. Burges to acquaint the multitude with the protestation taken by both houses, and that they were desired to retire to their houses. The populace, having received this information, departed.

The parliament of Ireland, on being informed that the earl of Strafford was in the Tower, had sent a committee of both houses to England, to lay before the parliament remonstrances concerning the grievances the Irish endured under that lord's administration, which confirmed part of the accusations contained in the twenty-eight articles exhibited against him by the parliament of England.

It must be observed, that the bill of attainder was stopped for some time in the house of lords, and the king tried every method he could think of to appease the resentment of the commons, and save his minister. But great mobs, armed with clubs and swords, surrounded his palace; crying out for Justice! Justice! and the royal assent to the bill.

It seems probable, that, in this extremity, some one advised the king to dissolve the parliament; at least the commons imagined he had no other expedient left to extricate himself from the difficulty he was involved in; and, therefore, to deprive him of this refuge, the same day, the 4th of May, they ordered the bringing-in of a bill for the continuance

of the present parliament, that it might not be dissolved, without the consent of both houses.

The king then called his privy-council together, and sent for his lawyers. He laid before them his scruples, and the reasons which ought to prevent him from giving his consent to the bill : but Juxon, bishop of London, was the only person who ventured to advise the king to reject a bill presented to him by both houses. All the rest did their utmost to persuade him to satisfy his people, alleging, that the life of any person ought not to be put in the balance with the safety of the kingdom. With regard to his scruples, they told him, that he might consult his bishops, who would give him the best advice.

The king, not meeting with the satisfaction he expected from his council, sent for some bishops to advise with. It is affirmed, that Neile, archbishop of York, said to him upon this occasion, that there was a private and a public conscience ; that his public conscience, as a king, might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that which was against his private conscience as a man ; and so, in plain terms, advised him, even for conscience sake, to pass the act.

What contributed the most, however, to determine Charles, was a letter from Strafford himself, who, hearing the difficulties the king was in, humbly besought him to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards a blessed agreement, which he doubted not God would for ever establish between him and his subjects : adding, “ that his consent would more acquit his majesty to God than all the world could do besides.” To a willing man, he said, there is no injury. At last, the king, no longer able to withstand the pressing instances of the parliament, and his own counsellors,
or,

or, rather, the fear of the calamities he foresaw might befall him and his posterity, if he refused to consent to the bill, signed a commission to three lords, to pass it in his name.

But notwithstanding the earl of Strafford's letter, when the king sent secretary Carleton to him, to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, the earl seriously asked the secretary, whether his majesty had passed the bill or not; as not believing, without some astonishment, that the king would have done it: and, being again assured that it was passed, he rose from his chair, lifted up his eyes to heaven, laid his hand on his heart, and said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in any of the sons of men, for there is no help in them."

On Wednesday, the 12th of May, 1641, being come to the place of execution, on Tower-hill, he ascended the scaffold with resolution, and began to take his last farewell of his friends, who appeared much more concerned than himself. Observing his brother, Sir George Wentworth, to weep excessively, "Brother," said he, with a cheerful alacrity, "What do you see in me to deserve these tears? Doth any indecent fear betray in me a guilt, or my innocent boldness any atheism? Think now, that you are accompanying me the third time to my marriage-bed. Never did I throw off my cloaths with greater freedom and content than in this preparation to my grave. That stock," pointing to the block, "must be my pillow; here shall I rest from all my labours; no thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, jealousies, or cares for the king, the state, or myself, shall interrupt this easy sleep: therefore, brother, with me, pity those who, beside their intention, have made me happy; rejoice in my happiness, rejoice in my innocence."

Then kneeling down, he made this protestation: "I hope, gentlemen, you do think, that neither the fear of loss, nor love of reputation, will suffer me to belye God and my own conscience at this time. I am now in the very door, going out, and my next step must be from time to eternity, either of peace or pain. To clear myself before you all, I do here solemnly call God to witness, I am not guilty, so far as I can understand, of the great crime laid to my charge; nor have ever had the least inclination or intention to damnify or prejudice the king, the state, the laws, or the religion, of this kingdom; but, with my best endeavours, to serve all, and to support all; so may God be merciful to my soul!"

Then rising up, he said he desired to speak something to the people, but was afraid he should be heard but by few, on account of the noise; after which, he knecled and adjusted himself to the block, and this causing a profound silence, he rose again, and he thus addressed himself to the spectators:

"My lord-primate of Ireland, and my lords, and the rest of these noble gentlemen: it is a great comfort to me to have your lordships by me this day, because I have been known to you a long time; and I now desire to be heard a few words. I come here by the good-will and pleasure of Almighty God, to pay that last debt I owe to sin, which is death; and, by the blessing of that God, to rise again, through the merits of Jesus Christ, to righteousness and life eternal." Here he was a little interrupted.

"My lords, I am come hither to submit to that judgment which hath passed against me: I do it with a very quiet and contented mind. I thank God, I do freely forgive all the world; forgiveness, that

that is not spoken from the teeth outward, as they say, but from the very heart: I speak it in the presence of Almighty God, before whom I stand; and there is not a displeasing thought arising in me towards any man living. I thank God, I can say it, and truly too, my conscience bearing me witness, that in all my employments, since I had the honour to serve his majesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart but what tended to the joint and individual prosperity of king and people, although it hath been my ill fortune to be misconstrued.

“ I am not the first that hath suffered in this kind; it is the common portion of us all, while we are in this life, to err; righteous judgment we must wait for in another place, for here we are very subject to be misjudged one of another. There is one thing that I desire to free myself of; and I am very confident,” speaking it now with much cheerfulness, “ that I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against parliaments, that I did always think the parliaments of England were the most happy constitutions that any kingdom or nation lived under, and the best means, under God, to make the king and people happy.

“ For my death, I here acquit all the world, and beseech the God of heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though, in the intentions and purposes of my heart, I am not guilty of what I die for: and, my lord-primate, it is a great comfort for me, that his majesty conceives me not meriting so severe and heavy a punishment as is the utmost execution of this sentence. I do infinitely rejoice in this mercy of his; and I beseech God to return it into his own bosom, that he may find mercy when he stands most in need of it.

“ I wish this kingdom all the prosperity and happiness in the world ; I did it living, and now dying it is my wish. I do most humbly recommend this to every one who hears me ; and desire they would lay their hands upon their hears, and consider seriously, whether the beginning of the happiness and reformation of a kingdom should be written in letters of blood. Consider this when you are at your homes ; and let me be never so unhappy, as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in judgment against any one of you ; but I fear you are in a wrong way.

“ My lords, I have but one word more, and with that I shall end. I profess that I die a true and obedient son to the Church of England, wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to it.

“ It hath been objected (if it were an objection worth the answering) that I have been inclined to Popery ; but I say truly from my heart, that, from the time that I was one-and-twenty years of age to this present, going now upon forty-nine, I never had in my heart to doubt of this religion of the Church of England ; nor ever had any man the boldness to suggest any such thing to me, to the best of my remembrance : and so, being reconciled by the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, into whose bosom I hope I shall shortly be gathered to those eternal happinesses which shall never have end, I desire heartily the forgiveness of every man for any rash or unadvised words, or any thing done amiss : and so, my lords and gentlemen, farewell ; farewell, all things of this world.

“ I desire that you would be silent and join with me in prayer ; and I trust in God, we shall all meet and live eternally in Heaven ; there to receive the accomplishment of all happiness ; where every tear shall

shall be wiped away from our eyes, and every sad thought from our hearts : and so God bless this kingdom, and Jesus have mercy on my soul !”

Then turning himself about, he saluted all the noblemen, and took a solemn leave of all considerable persons upon the scaffold (among whom was archbishop Usher, who had been a witness against him), giving them his hand. After that, he said, “Gentlemen, I would say my prayers, and entreat you all to pray with me, and for me.” Then his chaplain laid the book of Common-prayer upon the chair before him as he kneeled down, on which he prayed almost a quarter of an hour ; and then as long, or longer, without the book ; and concluded with the Lord’s prayer.

When he rose up, he saw his brother, Sir George Wentworth, and called to him, saying, “Brother, we must part ; remember me to my sister, and to my wife ; and carry my blessing to my son, and charge him that he fear God, and continue an obedient son to the Church of England, and warn him that he bear no private grudge or revenge toward any man concerning me ; and bid him beware that he meddle not with church-livings, for that will prove a moth and a canker to him in his estate ; and wish him to content himself to be a servant to his country, not aiming at high preferments. Carry my blessing also to my daughters, Anne and Arabella ; charge them to serve and fear God, and he will bless them ; not forgetting my little infant, who yet knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself ; God speak for it, and bless it ! Now,” said he, “I have nigh done ; one stroke will make my wife husbandless, my dear children fatherless, and my poor servants masterless, and will separate me from

my dear brother, and all my friends ; but let God be to you and them, all in all."

After this, going to take off his doublet, and to make himself ready, he said, " I thank God, I am not afraid of death, nor daunted with any discouragement arising from any fears, but do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." Then he put off his doublet, bound up his hair with his hands, and put on a white cap.

After this, he asked, " Where is the man that is to do this last office ? (meaning the executioner) call him to me." When he came and asked him forgiveness, he told him, he forgave him and all the world. Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again himself, archbishop Usher kneeling on the one side, and his chaplain on the other : to whom, after prayer, he turned himself, and spoke some few words softly, having his hands lifted up, and closed within his chaplain's hands. Then bowing himself to lay his head upon the block, he told the executioner, that he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again, before he would lay it down for good and all ; and so he did : and before he laid it down again, he told the executioner, that he would give him warning when to strike, by stretching forth his hands ; and presently laying down his neck upon the block, and stretching forth his hands, the executioner struck off his head at one blow ; and taking it up in his hand, shewed it to all the people, and said, " God save the King !"

His body was afterwards embalmed, and carried into Yorkshire, there to be buried amongst his ancestors.

Great

Great rejoicings were made in London at the death of this minister; and several persons, who came from different parts of the kingdom to see the execution, returned back in a kind of triumph, waving their hats as they rode through every town, in token of joy, as if some national victory had been obtained, and constantly repeating, with exclamations of joy, His head is off! His head is off!

The earl of Strafford was a man of considerable abilities and eloquence, had great courage and many personal accomplishments; but he was ambitious, haughty, and passionate. He was extremely temperate, very assiduous in his application to business, and is represented, in private life, as a warm and generous friend.

His lordship was three times married; and his only son William, by his second lady, was restored in blood, by an act of the same parliament by whom his father had been brought to the block, a few weeks after his execution. His lordship may rank in the list of noble authors, on account of his Letters, which were published in two volumes, folio, in 1739, by Dr. William Knowler; but as great fault has been found with his style, and the subjects are chiefly political, in which branch of knowledge it is certain he did not excel, his reputation as an author is so very inconsiderable, that it scarcely merits our notice.

* * * *Authorities.* Guthrie's History of England. Parliamentary Debates. Biog. Brit.

THE LIFE OF
RICHARD BOYLE,
EARL OF CORKE.

[A. D. 1566, to 1643.]

RICHARD BOYLE, honourably distinguished in history by the title of "The Great Earl of Corke," was descended from a family, whose name, before the Conquest, was Biervelle. He was the youngest son of Mr. Roger Boyle, of Hertfordshire, by Joan, the daughter of Mr. Robert Naylor, of Canterbury, where he was born in the year 1566. He was instructed in grammar-learning by a clergyman in Kent; and after having been a scholar in Bennet-college, Cambridge, where he was remarkable for early rising, indefatigable study, and great temperance, he became a student in the Temple.

His father dying when he was but ten years of age, and his mother before he attained the age of twenty, he found himself unable, from his narrow circumstances, to prosecute his studies, and therefore entered into the service of Sir Richard Manwood, lord chief baron of the court of Exchequer, in the capacity of a clerk; but, discovering that this situation would not advance him in life, he determined to travel; and having fixed upon Ireland

land as the place of his destination, he embarked for that kingdom, and arrived at Dublin in 1588, with fewer pounds in his pocket, than he afterwards acquired thousands a year. He was then about two-and-twenty, and had a graceful person, with all the requisite accomplishments to enable a young man to succeed in a country, which was a scene of so much action. Accordingly, he made himself very useful to some of the principal persons employed in the government, by penning for them memorials, cases, and answers; and he thereby acquired a perfect knowledge of the kingdom, and of the state of public affairs, of which he well knew how to avail himself. In 1595, he married Joan, the daughter and co-heiress of William Ansley, Esq; of Limerick, who had fallen in love with him; which incident laid the foundation of his future good fortune and success in life, for this lady was possessed of a real estate of 500l. per annum, and dying in labour of her first child (a dead son) in 1599, she bequeathed it to her husband.

Some time after, Sir Henry Wallop, of Nares, Sir Robert Gardiner, chief-justice of the King's-bench, Sir Robert Dillarn, chief-justice of the Common-pleas, and Sir Richard Bingham, chief-commissioner of Connaught, filled with envy at certain purchases he had made in the province, represented to queen Elizabeth that he was in the pay of the king of Spain (who had at that time some thoughts of invading Ireland), by whom he had been furnished with money to buy several large estates; and that he was strongly suspected to be a Roman Catholick in his heart; with many other malicious suggestions equally groundless; whereof Mr. Boyle having private notice, determined to come over to England to justify himself. But, before

fore he could take shipping, the general rebellion in Munster broke out; and all his lands were wasted, so that he had not one penny of certain revenue left. In this distress he betook himself to his former chamber in the Middle Temple, London, intending to renew his studies in the law till the rebellion should be suppressed. When the earl of Essex was nominated lord-deputy of Ireland, Mr. Boyle, being recommended to him by Mr. Anthony Bacon, was received by his lordship very graciously; and Sir Henry Wallop, treasurer of Ireland, knowing that Mr. Boyle had in his custody several papers which could detect his roguish manner of passing his accounts, resolved utterly to depress him; and for that end renewed his former complaints against him to the queen.

By her majesty's special directions, Mr. Boyle was suddenly taken up, and committed close prisoner to the Gate-house. All his papers were seized and searched; and although nothing appeared to his prejudice, yet his confinement lasted till two months after his new patron the earl of Essex was gone to Ireland. At length he, with much difficulty, obtained the favour of the queen to be present at his examination; and, having fully answered whatever was alleged against him, he gave a short relation of his own behaviour since he first settled in Ireland, and concluded with laying open to the queen and her council the conduct of his chief enemy, Sir Henry Wallop; upon which her majesty broke out into these words: "By God's death! these are but inventions against this young man; and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and these complaints urged to forestal him therein: but we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop, and his adherents, shall

shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him : neither shall Wallop be our treasurer any longer." She then gave orders not only for Mr. Boyle's present enlargement, but also for paying all the charges and fees his confinement had brought upon him, and gave him her hand to kiss before the whole assembly. A few days after, the queen constituted him clerk of the council of Munster, and recommended him to Sir George Carew, afterwards earl of Totness, then lord-president of Munster, who became his constant friend ; and very soon after he was made justice of the peace and of the quorum, throughout all the province. His preferment to be clerk of the council, he remarks, was the second rise that God gave to his fortune. He attended the lord-president in that capacity in all his employments, and was sent by his lordship to the queen with the news of the victory gained on the 24th of December, 1601, near Kinsale, over the Irish and their Spanish auxiliaries, who were totally routed, 1200 being slain in the field, and 800 wounded. "I made (says he) a speedy expedition to the court, for I left my lord-president at Shannon-castle, near Corke, on Monday morning, about Two o'clock ; and the next day, being Tuesday, I delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil, being then principal secretary of state, at his house in the Strand, who, after supper, held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning, and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty in her bed-chamber."

Upon his return to Ireland, he assisted at the siege of Beerhaven-castle, which was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. After the reduction of the western part of the province, the lord-president sent Mr. Boyle again to England

to procure the queen's leave for his return ; and having advised him to purchase Sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, he gave him a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, secretary of state, containing a very advantageous account of Mr. Boyle's abilities, and of the services he had done in his country : in consideration of which, he desired the secretary to introduce him to Sir Walter, and recommend him as a proper purchaser for his lands in Ireland, if he was disposed to part with them. He wrote at the same time to Sir Walter Raleigh himself, advising him to sell Mr. Boyle all his lands in Ireland, then untenanted and of no value to him, having, to his lordship's knowledge, never yielded him any benefit, but, on the contrary, stood him in 200l. yearly for the support of his titles. At a meeting between Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Mr. Boyle, the purchase was concluded by the mediation of the former. This Mr. Boyle calls the third addition and rise to his estate. In 1602, Mr. Boyle, by advice of his friend Sir George Carew, made his addresses to Mrs. Catherine Fenton, daughter to Sir George Fenton, whom he married on the 25th of July 1603, her father being at that time principal secretary of state. " I never demanded," says he, " any marriage-portion with her, neither promise of any, it not being in my considerations ; yet her father, after my marriage, gave me one thousand pounds in gold with her ; but that gift of his daughter to me I must ever thankfully acknowledge as the crown of all my blessings ; for she was a most religious, virtuous, loving, and obedient wife to me all the days of her life, and the mother of all my hopeful children."

He received on his wedding-day the honour of knighthood from his friend Sir George Carew, now

promoted to be lord-deputy of Ireland. March 12, 1606, he was sworn a privy-counsellor to king James for the province of Munster; Feb. 15, 1612, he was sworn a privy-counsellor of state of the kingdom of Ireland; and on the 29th of September, 1616, created lord Boyle, baron of Youghall. Oct. 16, 1620, he was created lord viscount of Dungarvon, and earl of Corke. Lord Falkland, the lord-deputy, having represented his services in a just light to king Charles I. his majesty sent his excellency a letter, dated November 30, 1627, directing him to confer the honours of baron and viscount upon the earl's second surviving son Lewis, though he was then only eight years old. October 26, 1629, on the departure of lord-deputy Falkland, the earl of Corke, in conjunction with lord Loftus, was appointed one of the lords justices of Ireland, and held that office several years. On the 16th of February following, the earl lost his countess. November 9, 1631, he was constituted lord-high-treasurer of Ireland, and had interest enough to get that high office made hereditary in his family. Nevertheless, he suffered many mortifications during the administration of lord Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford; who, before he went to Ireland, had conceived a jealousy of his authority and interest in that kingdom, and determined to bring him down, imagining, that, if he could humble the great earl of Corke, nobody in that country could give him much trouble. On the breaking-out of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641, the earl of Corke, as soon as he returned from England, where he happened to be at the time of the earl of Strafford's trial (against whom he was a witness), immediately raised two troops of horse, which he put under the command of his sons, the lord viscount Kinelmeaky and the lord Brog-

Broghill, maintaining them and 400 foot for some months at his own charge. In the battle which the English gained at Lis-carrol, Sept 3, 1642, four of his sons were engaged, and the eldest was slain in the field. The earl himself died about a year after, on the 15th of September, in the 78th year of his age, having spent the last as he did the first years of his life, in the support of the crown of England against the Irish rebels, and in the service of his country. Though he was no peer of England, he was, on account of his eminent abilities and knowledge of the world, admitted to sit in the house of lords upon the wool-pack, *ut consiliarius*. When Cromwell saw the prodigious improvements he had made, which he little expected to find in Ireland, he declared, that, if there had been an earl of Corke in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion. He affected not places and titles of honour until he was able to maintain them; for he was in the 37th year of his age when he received the honour of knighthood, and in his fiftieth when he attained to be a baron. He made large purchases, but not till he was able to improve them; and though he paid money for his lands, yet the rents that he received from them were the fruits of his own prudence, and he grew rich on estates which had ruined their former possessors. He increased his wealth, not by hoarding, but by spending; for he built and walled several towns at his own cost, but in places so well situated, that they were soon filled with inhabitants, who, though their rents were moderate, quickly repaid him the money he had laid out with interest; and he as readily laid it out again: hence, in the space of forty years, he acquired to himself what in some countries would be esteemed a noble principality; and
as

as they came to years of discretion, he bestowed estates upon his sons, and married his daughters into the best families in that country; so that his power and credit were continually increasing, and he was generally esteemed, being beloved by the English and respected and obeyed by the natives; the former admired his wisdom, the latter stood amazed at his magnificence; for as he had the power and property, so he had the soul and spirit of a prince; and his castle of Lismore looked rather like the palace of a sovereign, than the residence of a private man, whose estate was of his own raising. He outlived most of those who had known the meanness of his beginning; but he delighted to remember it himself, and even took pains to preserve the memory thereof to posterity, in the motto which he always used, and which he caused to be placed upon his tomb, viz. *God's providence is my inheritance.*

* * *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Bugdell's Memoirs of the Boyles. Coxe's History of Ireland.

THE LIFE OF
JOHN HAMPDEN.

[A. D. 1594, to 1643]

FEW private individuals have ever acquired such immortal honour, in any age or country, as the renowned British patriot, JOHN HAMPDEN, whose name and memory is revered to this hour by every lover of his country, and every friend to the religious and civil rights of such political communities,

munities, wherever situated on the habitable globe, as are founded on the chief institute of civil society, which is to provide for the safety and welfare of the whole, by a delegated authority, entrusted to one or more persons made superior to the rest, under certain prescribed limitations, for those very purposes, and who failing in the execution of this important trust, he or they may be lawfully deprived of such delegated authority; and those illustrious characters, who are instrumental in delivering their country from the mal-administration of that authority, whether in the hands of emperors, kings, protectors, or republican magistrates, will ever be considered, by all noble and liberal minds, as true patriots.

In this favourable light most historians have placed John Hampden; while some few have made him the author of the civil war between Charles I. and his subjects. And it is only from an impartial narrative of matters of fact, that a just and adequate opinion of the extensive abilities and public virtues of this great and good man can be formed at this distance of time. We shall therefore relate every important event of his useful life in a clear and ample manner, not doubting that the esteem and veneration of the reader will be increased in proportion as he advances from one transaction to another, till death prematurely deprived his country of the champion of her most sacred rights.

He was the son of John Hampden, Esq. and descended from a very ancient family of that name, whose paternal estate was situated at Great Hampden, in Buckinghamshire. His father married Elizabeth the second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, grandfather to Oliver Cromwell, to whom he was thus related by maternal affinity. No mention is made on what account his father resided at
Lon.

London, but that city claims the honour of giving birth to *Patriot Hampden* in the year 1594. The same silence rests upon his infant-years; but in the fifteenth year of his age we find him admitted a gentleman commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. Here he is supposed to have staid about three years, but he did not take any degree. From Oxford he returned to one of the inns of court in London, and applied himself very closely to the study of the common law, in which he made a rapid progress, till the death of his parents, which happened in the course of a few years; and then being in possession of an ample fortune, he ran into some of the dissipations of youth, in which it should seem that he passed his juvenile time of life; though he afterwards took up a more reserved and austere mode of living, and sought the society of men of solid understanding, and of graver dispositions.

He preserved, however, in his temper, a natural vivacity and chearfulness; and, having reformed his manners, he qualified himself for the public walk of life, in which he afterwards made himself so conspicuous. In the year 1626, he was elected a member of the second parliament of Charles I.; and having about the same time married a daughter of Thomas Foley, Esq. (great-grandfather to the first lord Foley), he from this time became a most important subject of the state. He was no sooner seated in parliament, than he vigorously promoted an enquiry into the national grievances, strenuously recommended an address to the throne for redress, before any permanent revenue was settled by parliament on the new king Charles I. and declared himself an opponent of the duke of Buckingham. This line of conduct endeared him to the leading members of that party,
by

by whom, as he likewise possessed the talent of speaking well, he was considered as a great acquisition. In 1628, he narrowly escaped imprisonment with the other members, who were called the riotous members, and were committed by the privy-council close prisoners to the Tower, for locking the doors of the house of commons, and holding the speaker in the chair, while the famous protestation was read against innovations in religion, and the levying of tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament. But though he was left out of this warrant, he was soon after taken into custody, for refusing to supply the king with money on loans deemed by parliament illegal.

His patriotic character now began to display itself without doors; but it was not generally noticed, or sufficiently known, till the year 1636, when the eyes not only of his countrymen, but of all Europe, were fixed upon him with a mixture of admiration and astonishment, to behold a private gentleman, a simple individual, as he is styled by some foreign writers, standing forth to assert the rights of his fellow-subjects, invaded in his own person by the exaction of ship-money, singly, against the united efforts of the king, the ministry, the crown-lawyers, and the numerous dependants of a court; all of whom were interested against him, some to oppress, others to counteract the dictates of their own consciences, and their knowledge of the laws of the land; and others again to defame him for presuming to dispute the will of his sovereign. Unawed however by authority, undaunted at menaces, unabashed by calumny, and incorruptible by bribes, he resolutely sustained the whole weight of a royal prosecution, founded in royal vengeance, for contemned prerogative. "Before this affair," says Lord Clarendon, "Mr. Hampden

Hampden was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom; but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man enquiring who, and what he was, that durst, at his own expence and peril, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court." And what made this his noble stand against the encroachments of arbitrary power the more extraordinary was, that the king had newly fortified himself with the following opinion of the twelve judges, "that it was lawful for the king, when the good and safety of the kingdom is in danger, by writ under the great seal of England, to command all his subjects at their charge to provide and furnish such a number of ships with men, victuals, and ammunition, and for such a time as his majesty should think fit, &c." The case with respect to Mr. Hampden stood thus: he was rated at *twenty shillings*, for an estate he held in Buckinghamshire. He rightly judged, that it was the most proper crisis to try the merits of this impost, and refused to pay it. He was prosecuted by the crown in the Court of Exchequer, where the cause was brought to a solemn trial; and, to render the issue the more decisive in all similar cases, the judges of that court requested the assistance of their brethren, so that it was argued for twelve days, by the most eminent counsel at the bar, before all the judges, and in the end, as might well be expected, it was determined against Mr. Hampden; but the judges were not unanimous as they had been, when they delivered their opinion to the king. Weston, Crawley, Berkley, Vernon, Trevor, Finch, Bramston and Smith, gave the cause in favour of the crown. Crook, Denham and Davenport, were for Mr. Hampden; and the
judg-

judgment of Jones was, that Mr. Hampden should be charged with ship-money, but with this limitation and condition, that none of it should come into the king's purse, for, if it did, his opinion was against it. Mr. Hampden, through the whole suit, conducted himself with such singular temper and modesty, that he actually obtained more credit and advantage by losing his cause, than the king did by gaining it; and from this time he was one of the most popular men in the kingdom.

Lord Clarendon, speaking of the imposition of ship-money, says, ' That pressure was borne with
' much more chearfulness before the judgment for
' the king, than ever it was after; men before
' pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the
' king's service, as a testimony of their affection,
' which they were not bound to do; many really
' believing the necessity, and therefore thinking the
' burthen reasonable; others observing, that the
' advantage to the king was of importance, when
' the damage to themselves was not considerable;
' and all assuring themselves, that when they should
' be weary, or unwilling to continue the payment,
' they might resort to the law for relief, and find
' it. But, when they heard this demanded in a
' court of law as a right, and found it, by sworn
' judges of the law, adjudged so, upon such grounds
' and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear
' was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and de-
' light of being kind and dutiful to the king, and,
' instead of giving, were required to pay, and by a
' logick that left no man any thing which he might
' call his own, they no more looked upon it as
' the case of one man, but the case of the king-
' dom; not as an imposition laid upon them by
' the king, but by the judges; which they thought
' themselves bound in conscience to the public
' justice

‘justice not to submit to. And here,’ continues the noble historian, ‘the damage and mischief cannot be expressed that the crown and state sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made use of in this and like acts of power, there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocency of the judges.’

Mr. Hume says, ‘The imposition of ship-money was apparently one of the most dangerous invasions of national privileges, not only which Charles was ever guilty of, but which the most arbitrary princes in England, since any liberty had been ascertained to the people, had ventured upon. In vain were precedents of antient writs produced: those writs, when examined, were only found to require the sea-ports, sometimes at their own charge, sometimes at the charge of the counties, to send their ships for the defence of the nation. Even the prerogative, which empowered the crown to issue such writs, was abolished, and its exercise almost entirely discontinued, from the time of Edward III. and all the authority which remained, or was afterwards exercised, was to press ships into the public service, to be paid for by the publick. How wide were these precedents from a power of arbitrarily obliging the people, at their own charge, to build new ships, to victual and pay them, for the public; nay, to furnish money to the crown for that purpose! What security either against the farther extension of this claim, or against employing to other purposes the public money so levied! The plea of necessity would warrant any other taxation as well as that of ship-money; and it was difficult to conceive the kingdom in a situation
‘where

‘ where that plea could be urged with less plausibility than at present. And if such maxims and such practices prevail; what has become of national liberty! What authority is left to the great charter, to the statutes, and to that very petition of right, which, in the present reign, had been so solemnly enacted, by the concurrence of the whole legislature!’

After having stood trial with the crown in the case of ship-money, Mr. Hampden was considered by the people as the father of his country; he was distinguished by the glorious title of *Patriot Hampden*; and he took the lead of his party in opposition to the measures of the king, in the house of commons, on the meeting of the long parliament in 1640, when he extended his patriotic care to the kingdom of Scotland, by watching all the motions of the king, while he was in Scotland, and preventing the Scots being seduced from the cause of the people of England, which was that of civil liberty, by the cabals of the cabinet; and he gave such entire satisfaction by his conduct, that in all the transactions between the two nations he was constantly appointed, by the parliament of England, one of the commissioners to treat with that people. It was at this time, according to Lord Clarendon, that Mr. Hampden’s power and interest was greater to do good or hurt than any man’s in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publickly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

Mr. Hampden was likewise nominated, by the parliament, one of the committee to prepare the charge against the earl of Strafford, and a manager of the evidence against him; and he performed the same services in the prosecution of Archbishop Laud.

Laud. The historians of those times agree in mentioning some plan that was set on foot after the fall of Strafford and Laud, to form a coalition of parties by conferring some of the most important offices in the state on the chief persons in opposition; and it is said that the king himself at one time seemed disposed to agree to it, in which case, Mr. Hampden proposed to undertake the office of tutor to Charles prince of Wales; and his laudable views in fixing up this weighty charge, in preference to the more splendid appointments which he might in the case of this event have commanded, are elegantly and sensibly conjectured by Mrs. Macaulay—"Whilst there were any hopes," says this able historian, "that the administration of the country could be corrected without the entire overthrow of the constitution, Hampden chose, before other preferment, the superintendency of the prince's mind, aiming to correct the source from whence the happiness or misfortunes of the empire, if the government continued monarchical, must flow: but the aversion which the king discovered to those regulations which were necessary to secure the constitution from any future attempt of the crown, with the schemes he had entered on to punish the authors of reformation, and to rescind his concessions, determined the conduct of Hampden." As soon as the parliament ordered an army to be raised for the defence of the state, against the hostile preparations of the king, Hampden accepted the command of a regiment of foot, under the earl of Essex, their general; and he was one of the first who opened the civil war by an attack on a place called Brill, about five miles from Oxford, at which the king had stationed some troops in garrison, and had made it a sort of barrier between the counties of Buckingham and Oxford.

ford. He manifested the same superior abilities in his military, as he had done in his civil capacity, and promised to be as much the hero in the field, as he had been the patriot in the senate: but his career of glory was soon terminated, for, to the great grief and consternation of his whole party, he was mortally wounded in a skirmish with prince Rupert, at Chalgrove Field, near Thame in Oxfordshire; and fell a victim to his own incautious valour. For the prince, having beaten up the quarters of the parliament-army early in the morning of the 18th of June, 1643, Hampden was very solicitous to draw forces together to pursue the enemy; and being colonel of a regiment of foot, he shewed his great eagerness to engage, by throwing himself into the cavalry, who were first ready, as a volunteer; and, upon finding that the prince faced about, all the officers of this detachment of cavalry were of opinion to halt till their main body came up, but he alone persuaded and prevailed with them to advance; and thus, precipitately, he rushed on his fate. The first news of Mr. Hampden's being wounded, which was matter of great joy and triumph to the royal party, they received from one of the prisoners taken in the action, who said, he was confident colonel Hampden was hurt; for he saw him, contrary to his usual custom, ride off the field before the action was over, his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. The following day it was known that he was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken. For six days he laboured under extreme anguish, and during this time it is said that the king, as a testimony of his esteem, sent Dr. Chinner his own physician to visit him, and to make him an offer of the assistance of his surgeons.

surgeons. On the 24th of June, 1643, this great man expired, whose life at that critical juncture was of the utmost national consequence, it being judged, from his natural disposition, and the integrity of his heart, that he would have opposed the usurpation of Cromwell, with the same fortitude and influence, and with equal success, as he had withstood the encroachments of regal power. It is certain, had he lived, the parliament (dissatisfied with the conduct of the earl of Essex, and highly pleased with Hampden, both for his personal valour in the field, and his excellent advice in councils of war,) would have promoted him to the generalship; and, as he was never known to exercise any authority otherwise than solely for the public welfare, it is to be presumed that he would have kept within proper bounds the ambitious spirit of Oliver Cromwell.

The remains of this celebrated patriot were interred in the church of Great Hampden in Buckinghamshire, where a stone was laid over his grave, with the effigies of himself, his wife, and ten children.

Mr. Hampden's eldest son Richard succeeded his father in his seat in parliament, and distinguished himself in it as a zealous friend to the same cause in which his father died. His grandson, John, likewise served in parliament; three of his daughters were married to respectable gentlemen, in the same line of political connections with himself, and holding public employments under the authority of the long-parliament; and, as a testimony of their sense of our patriot's eminent public services, the same parliament ordered the sum of five thousand pounds to be paid out of the national revenues for the use of his family..

Mrs. Macaulay remarks of Hampden, that
‘ Clarendon has pretended to draw the exact por-
‘ traiture of this eminent personage; but, though
‘ marked with those partial lines which distinguish
‘ the hand of the historian, it is the testimony of an
‘ enemy to virtues possessed only by the foremost
‘ rank of men. With all the talents and virtues
‘ which render private life useful, amiable, and re-
‘ spectable, were united in Hampden, in the
‘ highest degree, those excellencies which guide
‘ the jarring opinions of popular counsels to deter-
‘ mined points; and, whilst he penetrated into the
‘ most secret designs of other men, he never dis-
‘ covered more of his own inclinations than was
‘ necessary to the purpose in hand. In debate he
‘ was so much a master, that, joining the art of
‘ Socrates with the graces of Cicero, he fixed his
‘ own opinion under the modest guise of desiring
‘ to improve by that of others; and, contrary to
‘ the nature of disputes, left a pleasing impression,
‘ which prejudiced his antagonist in his favour,
‘ even when he had not convinced or altered his
‘ judgment. His carriage was so generally, uni-
‘ formly, and unaffectedly affable, his conversa-
‘ tion so enlivened by his vivacity, so seasoned by
‘ his knowledge and understanding, and so well
‘ applied to the genius, humour, and prejudices
‘ of those he conversed with, that his talents to
‘ gain popularity were absolute. With qualities of
‘ this high nature, he possessed in council penetra-
‘ tion and discernment, with a sagacity on which
‘ no one could impose, an industry and vigilance
‘ which were indefatigable, with the entire mastery
‘ of his passions and affections; an advantage
‘ which gave him infinite superiority over less re-
‘ gulated minds.—It was him the party relied on
‘ to animate the cold counsels of their general; it
‘ was

'was his example and influence they trusted to
'keep him honest to the interest of the publick, and
'to preserve to the parliament the affections of the
'army. Had he been at first appointed to the
'supreme military command, the civil war, un-
'der all the horrors of which the country lan-
'guished more than three years, would have been
'but of a short continuance.'

**** Authorities.* Sir Philip Warwick's Mc-
moirs of the reign of Charles I. Clarendon's
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THE LIFE OF
WILLIAM LAUD,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1573, to 1645.]

THIS eminent prelate was the son of William
Laud, a clothier of Reading, in Berkshire, by
Lucia his wife, widow of Mr. John Robinson, of
Reading, and sister to Sir William Webb, who
was lord-mayor of London in 1591.

He was born at Reading in the year 1573, and
educated in the free-school there. In July, 1589, he
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went to Oxford; and in June the year following was elected scholar of St. John's college, under the tuition of Dr. John Buckeridge.

In 1593, he was made a fellow of that college; the year following, he took the degree of bachelor of arts; and, in 1598, that of master of arts, being also chosen grammar-lecturer for that year. In 1600 he was ordained deacon, and priest in 1601, by Dr. Young, bishop of Rochester.

In 1602, he read a divinity-lecture in St. John's college, which was supported by the benefaction of Mrs. Maye. In this and other college-exercises, he discovered his talents for controversy, by maintaining the constant *visibility* of Christ's church, derived from the Apostles to the church of Rome, and continued in that church till the Reformation. This opinion involved him in a dispute with Dr. Abbot, at that time master of university-college, and vice chancellor of the university, which contributed, amongst other things, to the mutual dislike they took to each other in the course of their lives.

In 1603, he was chosen proctor of the university of Oxford; and became chaplain to Charles Blount, earl of Devonshire; and in 1604, he took the degree of bachelor of divinity. In his exercise performed on this occasion, he maintained these two points; 1st, the necessity of baptism; 2dly, that there could be no true church without diocesan bishops. These tenets, like that of deriving the visibility of the church of Christ from that of Rome, were levelled at the Puritans; and he was attacked by Dr. Holland, the divinity-professor, as a man who aimed at sowing division between the church of England and the foreign reformed churches. From this time his opinions rendered him obnoxious to all moderate men; and Abbot made no scruple

ple to proclaim him to be, if not actually a Papist, so Popishly inclined, that his company was to be shunned; and this had such an effect, that it was accounted heresy to be seen with him, and misprision of heresy to salute him as he passed.

In 1605, he imprudently married his patron the earl of Devonshire to Penelope the wife of Robert Lord Rich, though she had been divorced from her husband for adultery; and the match turning out, as might be well expected, extremely unfortunate to the earl, Laud was most severely censured; and it is certain, that king James took this affair so ill, that though Dr. Williams, then bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards archbishop of York, and lord-keeper of the great seal, exerted his influence in his favour, his majesty for some years would not consent to promote him in the church. He sincerely repented this transaction, and kept a fast on the anniversary of the wedding-day ever after. A sermon preached by Laud before the heads of the university, at St. Mary's, the following year, increased the number of his enemies; and his conduct in carping at the lectures of the public readers who did not hold the same high-church sentiments as himself, made him hated and feared; for he carried reports to the bishop of Durham, who conveyed them to the king, against all who favoured the doctrines or discipline of the Puritans. But his learning and address, notwithstanding these obstacles, procured him many powerful friends. In 1607, he was inducted into the vicarage of Stanford, in Northamptonshire; and, the year following, he was made chaplain to Dr. Richard Neile, then bishop of Rochester, and commenced doctor in divinity. He preached his first sermon before the king, at Theobalds, in September, 1609; and in October following he exchanged his advow-
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son of North-Kilworth for the rectory of West-Tilbury in Essex, in order to be near his patron, bishop Neile, who, the following year, gave him the rectory of Cuckstone in Kent; and, soon after, he resigned his fellowship of St. John's college in Oxford. But finding the air of Cuckstone prejudicial to him, he exchanged it for the living of Norton in the same county, a benefice of less value, but situated in a better air.

About the end of the year 1610, Dr. Buckeridge, president of St. John's college, being promoted to the see of Rochester, on the translation of Dr. Neile to the bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry, Dr. Abbot, who had just been made archbishop of Canterbury, retaining his enmity to Laud, complained of him to the lord chancellor Ellesmere, who was also chancellor of the university, alleging that he was a papist in his heart, which he did with a view of preventing his succeeding Dr. Buckeridge as president of the college. However, he carried his election, being chosen president in May, 1611, though he was then sick in London; and the election being called in question, it was at last confirmed by his majesty. The same year, he was sworn one of the king's chaplains. And, in 1614, his friend Dr. Neile, then bishop of Lincoln, gave him the prebend of Bugden; and the following year the archdeanconry of Huntingdon. In 1616, he was advanced by his majesty to the deanery of Gloucester, a dignity, which, though it was of no very great value, as Heylin says, served to establish his reputation, as a rising man in the church, after he had been long considered as one whom the king was by no means inclined to advance to any great honours. His majesty upon this appointment desired Laud to reform and set in order whatever he should find amiss in the cathedral; upon

upon the strength of which, he went in great haste to Gloucester, where finding the church much decayed, he ordered it to be repaired and beautified; and the communion-table standing in the middle of the church, he called a chapter, and had it removed to the east end of the choir, and placed against the wall. This point, which Laud considered as of the first importance; being accomplished, he recommended to the clergy belonging to the cathedral, that they should bow, in token of reverence to God, not only at their first entrance into the choir, but likewise at their approaches to the holy table. But his alterations, and his superstitious behaviour, gave great offence to many, and particularly to Dr. Miles Smith, then Bishop of Gloucester, who never set his foot in the church after the removal of the communion-table.

As a farther public testimony of the king's favour, he was ordered to attend his majesty in his journey to Scotland, in the year 1617. He had likewise the interest to procure some royal instructions to be sent to Oxford, for the better government of the university. The design of the progress to Scotland, was to bring the church of Scotland to an uniformity with that of England; a favourite scheme with Dr. Laud, and some other divines. But the Scots were Scots, as Dr. Heylin expresses it, and resolved to go on in their own way, whatever should be the consequence; so that neither the king nor Laud gained any credit by this expensive visit to Scotland, their authority in religious matters being treated with contempt.

After his return from Scotland, Dr. Laud resigned his living of West-Tilbury, and was inducted into that of Ibsstock, in Leicestershire, in 1617; and in 1620 he was installed into a prebend of Westminster, having had the grant of the succession ten

years before, at the request of Dr. Neile. In June 1621, the king nominated him to the bishopric of St. David's; but he was not consecrated till November, because archbishop Abbot laboured under an incapacity to perform the ceremony, from the accident related in his life. The day before his consecration, he resigned the presidency of St. John's college, in obedience to the statutes of that college; which he would not violate, nor his oath, on any pretence. But he was permitted to keep his prebend of Westminster in commendam, through the interest of the lord-keeper Williams, who, to increase his small income, gave him a benefice, worth 150*l.* per annum, in the diocese of St. David's; and in 1622, the king also gave him the rectory of Creeke, in Northamptonshire.

This year he likewise held his famous conference with Fisher the Jesuit, before the marquis of Buckingham and his mother, in order to confirm them in the Protestant faith, about which they were wavering; and he gained his point. This conference is a striking proof of the superiority of his genius and learning; and it brought on an intimate acquaintance between him and the marquis, whose favourite he became, and to whom, it is said, he was too subservient. But the patronage of Buckingham, who during his absence in Spain with the prince of Wales, left him his agent at court, and corresponded with him regularly, excited the jealousy of the lord-keeper Williams, who, from a warm friend, became a bitter enemy to Laud.

Archbishop Abbot, having likewise resolved to check his aspiring disposition as much as possible, left him out of the commission for constituting the high-commission court, a tribunal instituted to take cognizance of all ecclesiastical matters; but Laud complained of this indignity to Buckingham, and
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by his interest he was put into the commission in 1624. His credit with the minister was now firmly rooted; and he began to shew it by acts of authority, on the accession of Charles I. for that monarch wanting to regulate the number of his chaplains, and to appoint such only whose religious principles he should approve, and at the same time being desirous to know the characters of the clergy in general, he entrusted Laud to make out a list of the most eminent divines in the kingdom, and to mark against each name, according to their principles, the letter O for Orthodox, and P for Puritans; and the last letter being considered by Laud and the King as a brand, and a barrier against preferment, we may now consider our haughty prelate as invested with the discretionary power of recommending the inferior clergy to the King's notice; and from his principles we may judge how partially he exercised it. Ingratitude was of the number of his vices, for he lent his assistance to accomplish the dismissal of the worthy bishop Williams from the office of lord-keeper of the great seal, a man who had taken great pains to serve him at his first setting-out on the road to preferment, but who afterwards, discovering his design of supplanting his best friends, had with great justice reproached him for his perfidy, and retarded his progress. But Laud having at length gained the ascendancy, he prevailed with the favourite to procure him the honour of officiating at the coronation of Charles, in the room of bishop Williams, as dean of Westminster, whose office it was to administer the coronation-oath. In consequence of this application, Williams was commanded not to attend, and Laud was charged with altering the coronation-oath, but without any authority to prove it. Probably the accusation took its rise from his having

introduced in the course of the ceremony an artful address to the king in behalf of the clergy, exhorting his majesty to shew more favour to that order than to any other class of subjects, because they place the crown on his head, and approach nearer to the altar than others.

From this time, the minister was continually conferring favours upon Laud, who, in 1626, was translated from the see of St. David's to that of Bath and Wells, and also made a privy-counsellor, and dean of the chapel-royal. He was likewise appointed to be one of the commissioners for exercising archiepiscopal jurisdiction in the year 1627, upon archbishop Abbot's sequestration.

In the third parliament of this reign, he was voted to be one of the favourers of the Arminians, and one suspected to be unsound in his opinions that way. Accordingly he was named in the remonstrance presented to the king by the commons, and as he was thought to be the maker of the king's speeches, and of Buckingham's answer to the articles of impeachment drawn up by the commons against him, he became so unpopular, and such a clamour was raised against him, that his life was menaced, in anonymous papers which were thrown into the court-yard of his house in London. Yet this had no effect on his advancement at court; for in 1628 he was promoted to the see of London. He was also made a commissioner for levying money by certain inland duties, called by the commons an excise, which nomination increased the fury of the people against him, though the plan was never carried into execution. The great pains he took to support the duke of Buckingham's administration in all probability would have proved fatal to himself, if the duke had not fallen.

fallen a victim to the resentment of a disappointed officer. Yet his concern was so great for the loss of this favourite, that he treated Felton with great severity at the council-board, and threatened him with the rack, to extort from him a confession that he had accomplices; and though Felton very sensibly observed, “that, if he was racked, he “did not know whom the extremity of torture “might force him to name, perhaps Laud himself;” yet he persisted in his cruel design, till the judges gave it as their opinion, “that, according to the laws of England, Felton could not be put to the rack.” And it is said, he never would be convinced, but that some of the members of parliament, or of the Puritans, were privy to the murder.

Laud now supplied Buckingham's place in the king's esteem and confidence; and, having great influence both in church and state, he became also the leading man, and extremely active in the high-commission-court, in which such arbitrary and severe prosecutions were carried on, that the nation was alarmed, and for a time divided between fear and indignation.

Of the injustice and cruelty of the decrees of this court, the following is a striking instance:

Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, had published, “An appeal to the parliament; or, Zion's plea against prelacy:” in which he had written not only with freedom, but with great asperity, against the bishops and the hierarchy. For this publication, Leighton was brought before the high-commission-court, on the 4th of June 1630. He acknowledged himself to be the author of the book; but alleged that he wrote it with no ill intention; his design, he said, being only to lay those

things before the next parliament for their consideration. However, the court passed the following sentence :

“ That the doctor should pay a fine of *ten thousand pounds*, and be degraded from his ministry ; that he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster while the court was sitting, and be there whipped ; after which he should be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with S. S. as a sower of sedition ; and then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried a second time, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off ; and then be shut up in the prison of the fleet for the remainder of his life.” When this savage decree was pronounced, the furious bigot Laud pulled off his cap, and gave God thanks for it. History informs us, that the doctor underwent these punishments, and afterwards continued in close confinement for ten years, till he was set at liberty by the long parliament ; but his sufferings, and long and close confinement, had so impaired his health, that, when he was released, he could hardly walk, see, or hear.

Laud having been elected chancellor of the university of Oxford in the spring of the year 1630, he made it his business during the remainder of his life to adorn the university with buildings, and to enrich it with valuable MSS. and other books. He also caused the broken, jarring, imperfect statutes to be revised, collated, and thrown into regular order ; and he considerably enlarged and improved St. John's college, where he had received his education. In fact, it seems to have been the chief employment of this high-spirited prelate to take
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care of the externals of religion, and to make the church of England resemble that of Rome as much as possible. For this purpose being now almost absolute in ecclesiastical, and having a great share in the administration of civil affairs, he issued his orders in a peremptory manner, enjoining a strict conformity to all the external rites and ceremonies of religion. He caused the churches in general to be ornamented with pictures, images, and altar-pieces, and the communion-tables to be removed from the middle to the east end of the churches, to be railed in, and to be called Altars. Kneeling at these altars, and the use of copes, an embroidered vestment thrown over the shoulders of the priest, when administering the sacrament, were also rigorously enforced; and the pious, sensible part of the nation considering these superstitious observances as so many advances towards the introduction of Popery, Laud was detested in all parts of the kingdom. But regardless of popular clamour, he went one step farther in the consecration of the church of St. Catherine Creech in London. It had only been repaired; yet Laud, to make way for this ridiculous ceremony, suspended all divine service in it till it had been re-consecrated; which idle service he performed with nearly as much pomp and ceremony as is used by the pope when he opens the holy gate of St. Peter, and proclaims a jubilee. In fact, it was an imitation of all the idolatrous rites practised by the Romish priests at their altars. The detail of his fooleries upon this occasion would be tedious in this place; the reader is therefore referred to Hume's history of Great Britain, vol I. p. 202, 203, Edinb. edit.

In 1631, Laud was very active in causing St. Paul's cathedral to be repaired and beautified in a
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very expensive and magnificent manner ; for which purpose subscriptions and contributions were raised in all parts of England. The privy-council ordered such houses and shops to be pulled down as Laud indicated were too contiguous to the cathedral, and the owners were required to accept a reasonable satisfaction for the premises ; which if they refused, the sheriffs of London were directed to see them pulled down. But the subscriptions falling short of the sums required for this great undertaking, he made use of several illegal and oppressive methods of raising money ; particularly prosecutions incurring the penalty of fines were carried on with great rigour in the star-chamber and high-commission-courts : compositions were likewise made with Popish recusants ; and commutations of penance, so that the nation exclaimed, “ St. Paul’s is repaired “ with the sins of the people ?” About this time, it is likewise affirmed, that he made proposals to the king at Woodstock, to prohibit the marriages of the clergy ; and he openly declared, that he would bestow all the ecclesiastical preferments in his gift on single men, in preference to the married, provided their abilities were equal. But this declaration exposed him to such severe censures that he found himself under a necessity to put a stop to it, which he did in the most effectual manner ; for he negotiated a marriage between the Rev. Mr. Thomas Turner, one of his chaplains, and a daughter of Francis, afterwards Sir Francis Windebank, and he performed the ceremony himself in his chapel in London-house.

In 1633, bishop Laud attended king Charles to Scotland, on the same errand as he had formerly accompanied king James ; but with this difference, that, being now armed with more authority, he pushed the affair of the union of the two churches of

England and Scotland with greater zeal : however, the Scots bishops would not accept the liturgy of the church of England, but composed one for the church of Scotland, with material alterations, which were opposed by Laud, but to no effect.

Having in vain endeavoured to supplant the more worthy archbishop Abbot, he at length succeeded him, by his death, which happened in so short a time after the king's return from Scotland, that Laud was not yet arrived from that kingdom ; his majesty however almost instantly nominated him ; and when Laud came to court, he saluted him in the following manner : " My lord's grace of Canterbury, you are welcome : " and the same day he gave orders for the dispatch of the necessary instruments for his translation, which took place in September 1633. In the interval, an emissary from Rome came to him at Greenwich, and repeatedly offered him a cardinal's hat, convincing him, at the same time, of his ability to perform his promise ; but the archbishop refused, alleging as a reason (so it is set down in his own diary), " that somewhat dwelt within him, which would not suffer that till Rome were other than it is." The same month he was elected chancellor of the university of Dublin.

Early in the year 1634, upon the death of Weston, earl of Portland, lord-high-treasurer of England, our archbishop procured himself to be appointed one of the commissioners of the Exchequer, and his friend Juxon, now bishop of London, was, by his recommendation, made lord-treasurer ; Laud having artfully persuaded the king, that he could not make a better choice ; for the bishop of London having no family, nor any dependants to promote, he would manage the revenue more to his majesty's advantage than those noblemen who
sought

sought only to create vast estates for themselves, their families, and their parties.

In the course of this year, our archbishop caused the revival of the Book of Sports, which was published with his majesty's declaration, enjoining, that it should be read in all parish churches. The archbishop was accused of having enlarged it; and the people were confirmed in the opinion, that it was now enforced by his authority, when they found him active in prosecuting such clergymen as refused to read it in their churches. However, it gave such disgust, not only to the dissenters in general, but even to moderate, well-meaning churchmen, that some historians have not scrupled to date the secret design of some of the Puritans to depose the king from this event.

The archbishop's metropolitical visitation employed the greatest part of his time during the remainder of this and the following year; and it gave him an opportunity of exercising his persecuting faculties; for he made an attempt to force the consciences of all foreigners settled in England, by compelling them to conform to the church of England, in direct violation of the privileges and indulgences granted to them by former princes, and notwithstanding the commercial benefits this country had received from their ingenuity and industry. This act of religious despotism was violently opposed by the Walloon, the French, and the Dutch Protestants, who were joined by all the English Puritans; and they refused to pay any deference to Laud's authority, which occasioned a warm contest; but in the end, Laud prevailed so far, that though foreigners of the first descent were allowed to worship God in their own way, yet their descendants born in England were ordered by the king to repair to their several parish-churches,

churches, under the penalty of being proceeded against by the ecclesiastical laws. In like manner, Laud endeavoured to oblige the English factories abroad to conform themselves to the worship and ceremonies of the Church of England; but many of the merchants neglecting such conformity, he obtained the king's order to enforce it. We must not, however, omit one good action performed by the archbishop towards the close of this year: it was in favour of the poor clergy of Ireland, for whom he obtained, from the king, a grant of all the impropriations that were then remaining in the crown.

Unhappily for Laud, after he became one of the commissioners of the treasury, he was almost constantly engaged in warm disputes with lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer, who availing himself of Laud's choleric temper, and rash resolves, frequently deceived him, and led him into great errors. One remarkable instance is recited at large in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. The promotion of Dr. Juxon to be lord-treasurer, for no other reason but because he was a churchman, and the archbishop's tool, likewise inflamed the nobility against him. Juxon, says lord Clarendon, was a man so unknown, that his name was scarcely heard of in the kingdom before his promotion to the see of London; and as the high office of treasurer had not been held by a churchman before since the reign of Henry VII. the first families in England began to be alarmed, and to apprehend that, as the king had the honour and prosperity of the church so much at heart, the priesthood would engross all the great offices of state; and this paved the way to the ruin of the archbishop, who, from his miserable defectiveness in political knowledge, it may be truly said, fabricated the

the destruction of himself, and of his royal benefactor.

His influence in Scotland being considerably increased since he had been discovered to be one of the king's favourites, he now resolved to accomplish, if possible, the plan he had for many years set his heart upon, to introduce the English liturgy into the church of Scotland. Some canons were published in 1635, but the liturgy was not produced till 1636. On the day it was first read at St. Giles's church in Edinburgh, it occasioned a most violent tumult amongst the common people, who were countenanced by the nobility. This affair rendered the archbishop more odious than ever in Scotland; and at home, as his last effort of religious despotism, he attacked the liberty of the press, to which he was a bitter enemy, because the complaints of the nation against him through this channel were circulated all over the kingdom. He was considered, therefore, as the instigator of a most severe prosecution carried on in the year 1637, in the star-chamber-court, against Mr. Prynne, barrister at law, for publishing a tract, intituled, "*Histrion Mastix*, the players scourge, and actors tragedy," written generally against plays, masques, dancing, and entertainments of that sort, in which the author, amongst other things, asserts, that women actors are notorious whores, and maintains his argument by instances of it. Unluckily the queen had acted a part in a pastoral at Somerset-house, not long after the publication of this piece; and the archbishop availed himself of this circumstance to punish Prynne, who, in some other writings, had been very severe upon him and the hierarchy. It was falsely said, that Prynne's piece was published before the queen acted her part, and the reflection above-mentioned was construed into a me-

a meditated affront to the queen. The king was persuaded to look upon it in that light: Prynne was tried and sentenced to pay a fine of 5000l.; to be expelled the university of Oxford and the law-society of Lincoln's inn; to be degraded, and for ever disabled to follow his profession of the law; to stand in the pillory twice; to lose both his ears; to have his book burnt before his face by the common hangman; and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.

Close upon this, followed the prosecution of Dr. Bastwicke, a physician, who had caused to be printed in Holland a treatise, intituled, "*Elenchus religionis papisticae*," with an appendix, called, "*Flagellum pontificis et episcoporum Latialium*," "A Confutation of Popery, and a Scourge for the Pope and the Latin bishops." Several copies of this book being brought over and dispersed in England, Laud and some of his brethren took it into their heads, that it was a general libel against episcopacy, and prosecuted him in the high-commission-court in 1633, where he received sentence to pay a fine of 1000l., to be excommunicated, prohibited the practice of physick, and imprisoned two years in the Gate-house. Against the illegality and severity of this sentence, he wrote two pieces during his confinement, which were deemed libels, and for these he was cited to appear in the star-chamber this year with Prynne and Burton. He drew up an answer to the charge against him; but no counsel would sign it, and without that the court would not receive it: upon which the Doctor said, "If your honours shall refuse it, I protest before men and angels this day, I will put this answer of mine into Roman buff (into Latin), and send it through the whole Christian world, that all men may see my innocency, and your illegal
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“proceedings ; and this I will do, if I die for it ;” and then he threw it into court. Nevertheless sentence was passed on him the same day, June 14th, 1637, being Hilary term, to pay a fine of 500*ool.*, to stand in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to be imprisoned for life in some remote part of the kingdom.

The last person included in this infamous star-chamber-inquisition was the Rev. Mr. Henry Burton, rector of St. Matthew’s, in Friday-street, London. This gentleman, in two sermons preached the year before in his church, had reflected on the bishops, and pointed out several innovations then lately introduced into the service of the church by their order ; for which he had been cited before one of the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, who tendered him the oath *ex officio*, requiring him to answer to certain articles exhibited against him ; but he refused to take the oath, and appealed to the king. Yet a special high-commission-court being called soon after at Doctors-commons, he was suspended in his absence : upon this he thought fit to conceal himself in his own house, and to publish his two sermons, with an apology to justify his appeal. But on the first of February, 1637, a serjeant at arms, with several pursuivants, and other armed officers, by virtue of a warrant from the star-chamber-court, broke open his doors, searched his study, and carried him to the Fleet-prison, where he was kept a close prisoner for several weeks, and there he wrote a letter to the king, another to the judges, and a third, “To the true-hearted nobility ;” for which, and for his two sermons, he was condemned with Prynne and Bastwicke, and his punishment was nearly the same.

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But what enraged the people beyond measure, was the baseness of the archbishop in prosecuting his old patron Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and late keeper of the great seal, in the star-chamber, the particulars of which infamous transaction will be found in the life of that worthy prelate. The press now abounded with inflammatory pamphlets and remonstrances against him; and he could find no other remedy but the worst and most despicable, subjecting the press to an *imprimatur*, which was effected in the following manner: He procured a decree from the star-chamber-court on the 11th of July, 1637, to regulate the trade of printing; whereby it was enjoined, that the master-printers should be reduced to a certain number, and that none of them should print any books till they were licensed either by the archbishop, or the bishop of London, or some of their chaplains, or by the chancellors or vice-chancellors of the two universities; upon pain of the printer being disabled from following his profession in future, and farther prosecuted in the star-chamber, or high-commission-court. Every merchant or bookseller, who should import any books from abroad, was to deliver a catalogue of them to the archbishop, or to the bishop of London; and none were to be delivered or exposed to sale till these prelates, or their chaplains, had read and approved them. It was also farther ordained, that no person should cause to be printed beyond sea any English book or books, whether formerly printed or not; nor was any book to be re-printed, though formerly licensed, without a new licence.

But not content with these illegal measures, Laud proceeded to a restraint on the personal liberty of the subject; for the restraint of the press, together with the extreme rigour with which a conformity

formity to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England was now enforced, having occasioned great numbers, both of clergy and laity, to leave the kingdom and settle in New England, he prevailed with the king to issue an arbitrary proclamation, to the following purport: "The king being informed, that great numbers of his subjects are yearly transported into New-England, with their families and whole estates, *that they may be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority*; his majesty commands, that his officers of the several ports should suffer no person to pass out of the kingdom, without licence from the commissioners of the plantations, and a testimonial from their minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the church of England."

Towards the end of this year, Laud made use of a finesse to divert the people from the idea they had entertained, and often published, that he was strongly attached to Popery in his heart. He openly exclaimed at the council-board in the king's presence, with great warmth, against the increase of Papists in London, their frequent resort to Somerset-house, and the insufferable misdemeanours of some of the priests in perverting his majesty's subjects to Popery. This duplicity gave great offence to the queen, who highly resented it; and it was reported that the archbishop was in disgrace at court, at which the people greatly rejoiced. But Laud, who knew how to govern his weak prince, soon hit upon an expedient to insure the continuance of the royal favour. In the beginning of the year 1639, he wrote a circular letter to his suffragan bishops, wherein he exhorted them and their clergy to contribute liberally towards raising the army which the king was assembling, in order to bring the Scots to obedience. And as it was
well

well known, that the whole ground of the quarrel proceeded from the opposition, which almost that whole kingdom had made to episcopal authority, and to the imposition of a liturgy, he was justly branded with the appellation of an incendiary; and when all the measures taken by the king against the Scots proved unsuccessful, he was so universally reproached, that even the king's fool or jester did not spare him, but asked him, *Who's fool now?* for which he was discharged the king's service, and banished the court.

During the remainder of this year, the archbishop was employed in a manner more suitable to his function, but still conformable to his zeal for the church. He employed Mr. Petley to translate the liturgy into Greek; and he engaged Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, to compose his famous treatise, intituled, "Episcopacy by divine right asserted:" but he could not close the year without interfering in the cabinet; and he was one of the three privy-counsellors who advised the king to call a parliament in case of a rebellion in Scotland; but at the same time he concurred in a resolution, if he was not the chief mover of it, to assist the king by extraordinary ways and means, if the parliament should prove peevish and refuse supplies.

The parliament was accordingly summoned, and met on the 13th of April, 1640, and immediately launched out into violent complaints against the archbishop, and at first insisted on a full redress of grievances before they would grant a supply. Upon which the king sent a message to the house of commons, declaring the urgency of his affairs; and that, if the commons would assist him against the Scots, he would quit his claim to ship-money, and give them satisfaction in their just demands; which was well received by the house. But, unluckily the

the king sent a second message by Sir Henry Vane, requiring a supply of six subsidies, which it is thought would have been granted, but Sir Henry either by mistake, or designedly, demanded twelve subsidies, which threw the house into a flame; then he went to the king, and assured him that no money would be granted against the Scots; to which his majesty gave credit, and abruptly dissolved the parliament; an error in judgment which proved fatal to him, by making way for the long parliament, into which men of more violent principles against kingly government were elected. The nation being highly incensed at the dissolution of the parliament, and it being generally attributed to Laud, who it was thought had advised the measure to save himself, the people began to grow outrageous against him, especially in London; and the convocation having voted the king the six subsidies he had required from the commons, a paper was pasted up at the Old Exchange on the 9th of May, exhorting the apprentices to rise and plunder the archbishop's palace at Lambeth, on the 11th. Accordingly about 500 assembled on that day, and attempted it; but, the two days interval having given the archbishop sufficient time to be in readiness to receive them, they were obliged to retire, and some were taken a few days after, who were tried for high treason, upon the statute of Edward III. for levying war against the king: because they had a drum beat before them, the judges resolved it to be treason, upon which they were condemned, but only one suffered, who was a cobbler and a ring-leader. He was hanged, drawn and quartered, and his limbs fixed upon London-bridge.

At length, the storm, which had been long gathering, burst upon the head of this victim to his own pride and bigotry. The long parliament sat
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on the 3d of November 1640; and on the 18th of December, Denzill Holles, second son to John earl of Clare, by order of the house of commons, impeached archbishop Laud of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours, at the bar of the house of lords; and acquainted their lordships, that the commons would make proof of their charge against him in convenient time, desiring in the mean while that he might be committed to safe custody. Whereupon his grace was ordered to withdraw, but first he spoke to this effect: "That he was sorry for the offence which had been taken against him, but desired their lordships to look upon the whole course of his life, which, he said, was such, that he did verily persuade himself not one man in the house of commons did believe in his heart, that he was a traitor." He was called to order by the earl of Essex, who said it was an indecent reflection upon the whole house of commons, to suppose that they should accuse him of so high a crime, if they did not themselves believe him guilty. The archbishop then desired, that he might be proceeded against in the antient parliamentary way; to which lord Say answered, he must not prescribe to them how they should proceed. After this short conversation, his grace withdrew, but was presently called in to the bar, where the gentleman-usher of the black-rod waited to take him into custody, pursuant to an order of the house. Their lordships also ordered, that no member of their house should visit him. He was no sooner in confinement, than the Scottish commissioners, who were come to Rippon, in Yorkshire, to treat of an accommodation between their country and the king, sent a strong remonstrance to the parliament against him; and this piece served to strengthen the articles preparing by the commons against him.

After he had been ten weeks in the house of the gentleman-usher, the commons sent up fourteen articles of impeachment to the house of lords, desiring time to exhibit the proofs of each, and that he might be kept safe. Upon which, he was conveyed to the Tower, on the first of March, 1641, amidst the reproaches and insults of multitudes of people, who lined the streets to see him pass. The next care of the house of commons was to release all persons who had been illegally imprisoned by decrees of the star-chamber and high-commission-courts, and to oblige those who had passed unjust sentences upon them to make all the reparation in their power.

The archbishop having been the principal agent in the severe proceedings against Prynne, Bastwicke, and Burton, he was ordered to make satisfaction for the damages they had suffered by their sentence and imprisonment; and he was fined 20,000*l.* for the active part he had taken in the convocation held in 1640, in which sundry canons had been made, containing, according to the following resolution of the house of commons, "many matters contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws and statutes of this realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject; and matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence."

The substance of the fourteen articles of impeachment against the archbishop were reduced by his council to three general charges. *First*, an endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm; and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government, against law. *Secondly*, an endeavour to subvert the true religion, as by law established; and, instead thereof, to set up Popish superstition and idolatry. *Thirdly*, that he

he had laboured to subvert the rights of parliament, and the antient course of parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense the king against parliaments.

The defence set up was, that, admitting all the charges to be true, they did not amount to high-treason, by any established law of the kingdom. This justification of Laud by his counsel has been supposed by some to be a good one; and their concise method of stating the whole charge is given here, to avoid the detail of the several articles.

We must now return to some material transactions, previous to the trial.

In May 1641, the archbishop was sentenced by the house of lords to pay 500 l. to Sir Robert Howard, for false imprisonment. In June, he resigned the chancellorship of the university of Oxford; and in October the house of lords sequestered his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, putting it into the hands of his inferior officers; and enjoined, that he should not dispose of any benefice, without first having the approbation of the house of the person nominated by him. In January, 1642, they ordered the arms and ordnance he kept at his palace at Lambeth to be taken away by the sheriffs of London and Middlesex; and the archbishop, by his own account, had as many arms as cost him upwards of 300 l.; for what purpose, as a churchman, is hard to be conceived, certainly with no good design. Before the end of this year, all the rents and profits of the archbishoprick were sequestered by the lords, for the use of the commonwealth; and when he petitioned the parliament for a maintenance, he could not obtain any; nor any part of a quantity of wood and coals, his property, remaining at Lambeth, and valued by him at 200 l. though he wanted them for his necessary

use in the Tower. This, by some writers, has been deemed very severe, and much has been said of the malice of his enemies. But it should be observed, that the severe proceedings against him were voted in the house of lords; and that the high crimes and misdemeanours he had undoubtedly committed, if they did not amount to high-treason, were such daring and cruel violations of the religious and civil rights of his fellow-subjects, that it was necessary to make a striking example of a man of his sacred order and high station.

On the 25th of April, 1643, a motion was made in the house of commons, to transport him to New-England, but it was over-ruled.

On the 9th of May, his goods and books at Lambeth were seized, and the goods sold publicly for a third of the value. Great complaint is again made by most of the writers of his life on this subject: it is called very severe and unjust treatment, because he had not yet been brought to his trial, nor legally convicted of any crime. But here lies the error: he had been sentenced, as we have seen, to pay one sum of 500*l.* and no doubt, by this time, Prynne, Bastwicke, and Burton, had made their demands of reparation; so that it is most probable, his goods were seized and sold by civil process, to pay or secure payment to the injured parties.

On the 16th of the same month, an ordinance of parliament was issued, enjoining him not to confer any benefice without leave, and an order from *both* houses. On the 31st of the same month, Mr. Prynne, the same whom he had so unjustly punished, now a member of the house of commons, received a warrant from the close committee of that house to search his room in the Tower for papers, which he executed with an indecent rigour, which shewed
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that he harboured resentment: for he even examined his pockets, and carried away his diary, which was ungenerously published before his death; also some papers, containing his private devotions, and twenty-one loose papers, containing memorandums drawn by himself for his defence ~~on~~ his trial; a promise, it is said, was likewise violated upon this occasion, for Prynne promised to restore these papers to him in three days, but he only returned a very small part. Shortly after this event, the archbishop having bestowed a living without paying any regard to the ordinance of the parliament, he was totally suspended; and on the 10th of October ten additional articles of impeachment were carried up by the commons to the house of lords against him, and the lords were desired to hasten his trial. He had now been three years a prisoner in the Tower, and was so loosely guarded, that it was generally thought to be the intention, even of his enemies, that he should escape; but now the nation being involved in all the horrors of a civil war, those who had lost near and dear relations in the field of battle began to cast their eyes on Laud, as the principal author of this calamity, and loudly to demand his head. The trial therefore was brought on the 12th of March, 1644; and, after it had lasted twenty days, the commons, finding they had not sufficient evidence to convict him of treason in the ordinary course of law, had recourse to the same method as had been taken in the case of the earl of Strafford. They had such influence with the lords, that, after the whole of the evidence and pleadings had been gone through, and the archbishop had made his defence, which, by the confession of his enemies, was a very able one, the house adjourned without coming to any determination; and here the matter

rested, from the 29th of July, till the 13th of November, when a bill of attainder was read the first time in the house of commons, and passed and sent up to the lords on the 16th. There it stuck till January, 1645, most of the peers absconding to avoid passing it; and on the 4th of that month it passed in a very thin house, the lords present being over-awed, as it is reported by some authors, by the violence of the earl of Pembroke, and the menaces of the mob without doors.

The archbishop received the news of his condemnation with great fortitude; but, finding the sentence to be that which the law awards against high-treason, he made repeated applications to have it changed to beheading, which was granted, but not without much opposition from those who had suffered ignominious punishments by his decrees.

The 10th of January, 1645, being appointed for his execution, he was conducted to a scaffold on Tower-hill, where he made a long, eloquent, and affecting speech to the people; which moved many to pity, while others as eagerly enjoyed the melancholy spectacle, and behaved with great indecency to the last, getting under the scaffold, and looking at him through the crevices of the boards; so that he was disturbed in his devotions, and obliged to call to the proper officers either to stop them with clay, or to remove the people, being unwilling, he said, that his blood should fall upon their heads. The substance of his speech was, a declaration of his being a true member of the Church of England, and that he suffered for endeavouring an uniformity; an exculpation of the king from the charge of favouring Popery; a solemn protestation at the hour of his death, the same as he had made at the bar of both houses, that he was innocent of the two points of treason charged

charged against him—he had never endeavoured the subversion of law, or religion—neither was he an enemy to parliaments. As to the parliament by which he was condemned, he intimates, that it was misinformed and misgoverned, which was so much the worse, as the subject was thereby left without a remedy. In the rest of this famous speech, there are strong marks of unfeigned piety; but whenever he touches the political cord, or the authority of the Church, the leading foibles of his heart are manifest: it is therefore more charitable, in an enlightened age, to suppress than to republish such parts of it as do no honour to his memory.

After some time passed in private devotions, he submitted to the fatal stroke, putting off mortality with uncommon firmness. His head was severed from his body at one blow; and the corpse was interred by his friends in the parish church of Allhallows, in Tower-street; but it was taken up after the Restoration, and carried to Oxford, where it was deposited in the chapel of St. John's college.

After reading with the utmost attention and cool judgment the very different characters given of archbishop Laud by his contemporaries, and making all possible allowance for the heat of party, and the general complexion of the times, the editor of this work owns he could not find any on which he could rely for truth and candour; but the author of the BRITISH BIOGRAPHY, to whom he stands indebted for very great assistance, appears to him to have drawn it with a strict regard to both; he therefore makes no scruple to insert it from that valuable publication. “Laud was undoubtedly a man of considerable learning and abilities; but was, notwithstanding, in many re-
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pects,

spects, extremely weak and superstitious. Of this his diary affords very pregnant instances. He was also of a very warm, hasty, and passionate temper, and of a disposition somewhat vindictive; but, in other respects, his private life appears to have been free from reproach; though we can find in his actions but very few evidences of that *immense virtue* which lord Clarendon attributes to him. He was of very arbitrary principles, both in church and state; extremely active in promoting the most illegal and despotic measures of government, and inclined to very severe methods in the ecclesiastical courts, especially against the Puritans, and all who made any opposition to the doctrines or ceremonies established by authority. As to his theological principles, though he could not with propriety be termed a Papist, it is nevertheless certain, that he was a great favourer of many of the doctrines maintained by the church of Rome; and that the religion he laboured to establish partook largely of the nature and genius of Popery. Though he would not probably have chosen that England should have been brought into subjection to the pope, he appeared very desirous of being himself the sovereign patriarch of three kingdoms."

He was munificently liberal, and, besides his several benefactions to the university of Oxford, he procured a new charter, and a body of new statutes, for Trinity college, Dublin. He founded an hospital at Reading, and endowed it with revenues, amounting to 200*l.* per annum. Upon the whole, he discovered great taste for ancient learning, and was a friend to men of letters, when their studies did not interfere with his religion or politicks.

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As an author, Laud gained but little reputation, except for his account of the conference between him and Fisher the Jesuit, which passed through several editions, and bore a great character in times when the controversies between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in England ran very high; but so many more valuable performances have appeared upon the same subject since the press has enjoyed uninterrupted liberty, that it is in no repute at present. This tract, seven sermons, and short annotations on the life and death of James I. are all the literary productions of our archbishop, printed in his lifetime; and it seems astonishing, that, after such high encomiums on his learning by various writers, we should find so little proof of it from the press.

Several posthumous works were published at different periods under his name; but they are not of that importance to require a nice investigation of their authenticity.

**** Authorities.* Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud, fol. 1668. Wood's Athen. Oxon. British Biography, vol. iv. 8vo.

THE LIFE OF
JOHN WILLIAMS,

ARCHBISHOP of YORK, and LORD-KEEPER of
the GREAT SEAL of ENGLAND.

(A. D. 1582, to 1650.)

THIS eminent man united in his character the divine and the lawyer, and in both capacities deservedly acquired very great reputation. He was the youngest son of Edward Williams, Esq; of Aber Conway, in Caernarvonshire, in Wales, where he was born the 25th of March, 1582. He was educated at the public school at Reuthen, and at sixteen years of age admitted of St. John's college in Cambridge. His natural parts were very uncommon, and his application still more so; for he was of so singular and happy a constitution, that from his youth upwards he never required more than three hours sleep out of the twenty-four, to keep him in perfect health. He took the degrees in arts, and was made fellow of his college; yet this first piece of preferment was obtained by way of mandamus from king James I. His manner of studying had something particular in it. He used to allot one month to a certain province, esteeming variety almost as refreshing as cessation from labour; at the end of which, he would take up some other

other matters, and so on, till he came round to his former courses. This method he observed, especially in his theological studies; and he found his account in it. He was also an exact philosopher, as well as an able divine, and admirably versed in all branches of literature.

He was not, however, so much distinguished for his learning, as for his uncommon dexterity and skill in business. When he was not more than five-and-twenty, he was employed by the college in some concerns of theirs, on which occasions he was sometimes admitted to speak before archbishop Bancroft, who was exceedingly taken with his engaging wit and decent behaviour.

Another time he was deputed, by the masters and fellows of his college, as their agent to court, to petition James I. for a mortmain, as an increase of their maintenance; when he succeeded in his suit, and was taken particular notice of by the king; for there was something in him which his majesty liked so well, that he told him of it long after, when he came to be his principal officer. He entered into orders in his twenty-seventh year; and took a small living, which lay beyond St. Edmund's Bury, upon the confines of Norfolk. In 1611, he was instituted to the rectory of Grafton Regis, in Northamptonshire, at the king's presentation; and the same year was recommended to the lord-chancellor Egerton for his chaplain, but obtained leave of the chancellor to continue one year longer at Cambridge, in order to serve the office of proctor of the university. In 1612, he was instituted to the rectory of Grafton Underwood, in Northamptonshire, on the presentation of Edward earl of Worcester, and the same year took a bachelor of divinity's degree. In 1613, he was made præcentor of Lincoln; rector of Waldgrave, in Northamptonshire,

thamptonshire, in 1614; and between that year and 1617 was collated to a prebend and residentiaryship in the church of Lincoln; to prebends in those of Peterborough, Hereford, and St. David's,

The chancellor Egerton dying the 25th of March, 1617, gave Mr. Williams some books and papers, all written with his own hand. His lordship, upon the day of his death, called Mr. Williams to him, and told him, that if he wanted money, he would leave him such a legacy in his will as should enable him to begin the world like a gentleman. "Sir," says Mr. Williams, "I kiss your hands: you have filled my cup full; I am far from want, unless it be of your lordship's directions how to live in the world, if I survive you." "Well," said the chancellor, "I know you are an expert workman: take these tools to work with; they are the best I have;" and so gave him the books and papers. Bishop Hacket says, that he saw the notes; and that they were collections for the well-ordering the high court of parliament, the court of chancery, the star-chamber, and the council-board: so that he had a good stock to set up with. These papers are supposed to have been of great service to Williams.

When Sir Francis Bacon was made lord-keeper, he offered to continue Mr. Williams his chaplain; who, however, declining it, was made a justice of the peace by his lordship for the county of Northampton. He was made king's chaplain at the same time, and had orders to attend his majesty in his Northern progress, which was to begin soon after; but the bishop of Winchester got leave for him to stay and take his doctor's degree, for the sake of giving entertainment to Marco Antonio de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, who was lately come to England, and designed to be at Cambridge
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the commencement following. The questions which he maintained for his degree were, *Supremus magistratus non est excommunicabilis*, and *Subductio calicis est mutilatio sacramenti & sacerdotii*. In 1619, he preached before the king, on Matth. ii. 8, and printed his sermon by his majesty's order. The same year he was collated to the deanery of Salisbury; and the year after removed to the deanery of Westminster. He obtained this preferment by the interest of the marquis of Buckingham; whom, for some time, he neglected to court, says bishop Hacket, for two reasons; first, because he mightily suspected the continuance of the marquis in favour at court; secondly, because he saw that the marquis was very apt suddenly to look cloudy upon his creatures, as if he had raised them up on purpose to cast them down.

However, once, when the doctor was attending the king, in the absence of the marquis, his majesty asked him abruptly, and without any relation to the discourse then in hand, "When he was with Buckingham?" "Sir," said the doctor, "I have had no business to resort to his lordship." "But," replied the king, "wheresoever he is, you must go to him about my business:" which he accordingly did, and the marquis received him courteously. He took this as a hint from the king to frequent the marquis; to whom he was afterwards serviceable in furthering his marriage with the great heiress, the earl of Rutland's daughter. He reclaimed her ladyship, from the errors of the Church of Rome, to the faith and profession of the Church of England; in order to which, he drew up the elements of the true religion for her use, and printed twenty copies of it with no name, only by an old prebendary of Westminster.

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The lord chancellor Bacon being removed from his office in May, 1621, Dr. Williams was made lord-keeper of the great-seal of England, the 10th of July following; and, the same month, bishop of Lincoln, with the deanery of Westminster, and the rectory of Waldgrave, in commendam. When the great-seal was brought to the king from lord Bacon, his majesty was overheard by some near him to say, upon the delivery of it to him, "Now, by my soul, I am pained at the heart where to bestow this, for, as to my lawyers, I think they be all knaves." Several persons were thought of for this office, particularly Sir James Leigh, Sir Henry Hobart, and the earl of Arundel. But he who was most likely to obtain it, was Sir Lionel Cranfield, master of the court of wards. However, the king, before he would dispose of it, had set Buckingham to enquire what the profits of the post might amount to in justice, and whether certain perquisites were natural to it, which some had a great mind to cut off. Sir Lionel Cranfield, in full expectation of obtaining the office, intreated the marquis of Buckingham to be quick, and to advise concerning the matter with the dean of Westminster, a sound and a ready man, it was said, who was "not wont to clap the shackles of delay upon a business." Accordingly, dean Williams being spoken to, to draw up in writing what he thought of the matter, he speedily returned an account of the legal revenue of the office of lord-keeper, with some observations relative thereto. This paper was carried by Buckingham to the king, who, having read it, said, "You name divers to me to be my chancellor. Queen Elizabeth, after the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, was inclined in her own judgment, that the good man, archbishop Whitgift, should take the place, who modestly refused it, because

cause of his great age, and the whole multitude of ecclesiastical affairs lying upon his shoulders. Yet Whitgift knew not the half that this man doth in reference to this office." The marquis was surprized at what the king said; however, he replied, "Sir, I am a suitor for none, but for him that is so capable in your great judgment." "Be you satisfied then," said the king, "I think I shall seek no farther." Upon this, Buckingham immediately sent a messenger to dean Williams, acquainting him, "that the king had a preferment in the deck for him." The dean, who was ignorant of what had passed, misunderstood the message, supposing it might relate to the bishoprick of London, now vacant by the death of Dr. King, and for which Williams had made some application. But he was soon acquainted what the preferment was, which was intended for him. And in this unexpected manner was Dr. Williams raised to this high and important office; and accordingly, on the 10th of July, 1621, he was sworn keeper of the great-seal of England. The same month he was likewise promoted to the bishoprick of Lincoln, and was also permitted to hold the deanery of Westminster, and the rectory of Waldgrave, in commendam.

Bishop Williams discharged the duties of his post, as lord-keeper, with eminent ability, and with extraordinary diligence and assiduity. It is said by Hacket, that, when our prelate first entered upon this office, he had such a load of business, that he was forced to sit by candle-light in the court of chancery two hours before day, and to remain there till between eight and nine; after which he repaired to the house of peers, where he sat as speaker till twelve or one every day. After a short repast at home, he then returned to hear the causes
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in chancery, which he could not dispatch in the morning : or, if he attended the council at Whitehall, he came back towards evening, and followed his chancery-busines till eight at night, and later. After this, when he came home, he perused what papers his secretaries brought to him ; and when that was done, though late in the night, he prepared himself for the business which was to be transacted next morning in the house of lords. And we are told, that, when he had been one year lord-keeper, he had finally concluded more causes than had been dispatched in the seven preceding years.

In the star-chamber he behaved with more lenity and moderation in general, than was usual among the judges of that court. He would excuse himself from inflicting any severe corporal punishment upon an offender, by saying, that councils had forbade the bishops from meddling with blood in a judicial form. And in pecuniary fines his hand was so light, that the lord-treasurer Cranfield complained against him to the king, for lessening his majesty's fees. He was as generous also in remitting his own fines ; of which the following is given as an instance. Sir Francis Inglefield had said before witnesses, " that he could prove this holy bishop-judge had been bribed by some that had fared well in their causes." The lord-keeper, to clear himself, calls upon Sir Francis to make good his words ; which he not being able to do, a fine of some thousand pounds was laid upon him, to be paid to the king and the injured party. But, soon after, bishop Williams sent for Sir Francis, and told him he would give him a demonstration, that he was above a bribe ; " and for my part," said he, " I forgive you every penny of my fine, and will beg of his majesty to do the same." This piece of generosity so vanquished Sir Francis, that he acknowledged his fault, and was afterwards received
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into some degree of friendship and acquaintance with the lord-keeper.

The lord-keeper made use of his influence with the king in behalf of several noblemen who were under the royal displeasure, and in confinement. He prevailed with his majesty to set at liberty the earl of Northumberland, who had been fifteen years a prisoner in the Tower. He procured also the enlargement of the earls of Oxford and Arundel, both of whom had been a considerable time under confinement. He employed likewise his good offices with the king in behalf of many others of inferior rank. To this purpose bishop Hacket relates the following story: A clergyman had been imprisoned for meddling with state-affairs in the pulpit. Bishop Williams was desirous of procuring his releasement; and therefore he went to the king, and told him that he had heard some idle gossips complained of his majesty grievously, and did not stick to curse him. "Why, what evil have I done to them?" said the king. "Sir, said the lord-keeper, such a man's wife, upon tidings of her husband's imprisonment, fell presently into labour, and the midwives can do her no good to deliver her, but say it will not be effected till she be comforted to see her husband again; for which the women that assist her revile you, that her pains should stick at such a difficulty. "Now weal away," said the king, "send a warrant presently to release him, lest the woman perish."

Mr. Knight, a young divine of Oxford, had also advanced somewhat in a sermon which was said to be derogatory to the royal prerogative, for which he was a long time imprisoned in the Gatehouse; and a charge was about to be drawn up against him, to impeach him of treasonable doctrine. One Dr. White, a clergyman far advanced in years, was likewise in great danger of a prosecution of the same

same kind Bishop Williams was very desirous of bringing both these gentlemen off, and he hit on the following stratagem to effect it. Some instructions had been appointed to be drawn up, by his care and directions, for the performance of useful and orderly preaching; which being under his hand to dispatch, he now besought his majesty, that this proviso might pass among the rest; that none of the clergy might be permitted to preach before the age of thirty years, nor after threescore. "On my soul" (said the king), "the devil, or some fit of madness, is in the motion; for I have many great wits, and of clear distillation, that have preached before me at Royston and Newmarket, to my great liking, that are under thirty. And my prelates and chaplains, that are far stricken in years, are the best masters in that faculty that Europe affords." "I agree to all this (answered the lord-keeper); and since your majesty will allow both young and old to go up into the pulpit, it is but justice that you shew indulgence to the young ones, if they run into errors before their wits be settled (for every apprentice is allowed to mar some work, before he be cunning in the mystery of his trade); and pity to the old ones, if some of them fall into dotage, when their brains grow dry. Will your majesty conceive displeasure, and not lay it down; if the former set your teeth an edge sometimes, before they are mellow-wise; and if the doctrine of the latter be touched with a blemish, when they begin to be rotten, and to drop from the tree?" "This is not unfit for consideration (said the king); but what do you drive at?" "Sir," replied Williams, "first, to beg your pardon for mine own boldness; then to remember that Knight is a beardless boy, from whom exactness of judgment could not be expected; and that White is a decrepid, spent man, who had not a fee simple, but a lease of reason, and it is expired. Both.

Both these, that have been foolish in their several extremes of years, I prostrate at the feet of your princely clemency." In consequence of this artful application, king James readily granted a pardon to both of them.

Bishop Williams expended considerable sums to procure good intelligence in affairs of state; and Hacket gives a very particular account of an artful stratagem by which he discovered the intrigues of the Spanish ambassador against Buckingham. A paper of complaints and informations against that favourite had been privately given to the king. This gave James great disturbance; and in this disposition he took coach with prince Charles to Windsor; and when Buckingham, who attended, offered to step in, the king found a slight excuse to leave him behind; and he in vain begged with tears to know the cause of his majesty's displeasure. Williams, having received intelligence of this, went immediately to Buckingham, who was retired melancholy to Wallingford-house, where he acquainted him, that it was some of the Spanish ambassador's agents, who had endeavoured to ruin him with the king; and advised him to go to Windsor, and never leave his majesty; and also gave him some farther directions, in order to prevent the effect of the Spanish machinations against him. Buckingham was prudent enough to follow this advice, and soon after told the story to prince Charles at Windsor. This was on Saturday; and on the Monday following the prince was very early at the house of lords; and when the lord-keeper came thither, his highness took him aside into the lobby, thanked him for the warning given to Buckingham, and begged him to discover what he farther knew concerning this plot against that favourite. "You" (said his highness), "that have gone thus far,

far, may receive greater thanks of us both, if you will spread open this black contrivance, which has lost Buckingham the good opinion of my father, and myself am in little better condition." "Sir," (said the lord-keeper), "let my soul suffer for falsehood, if I know any more than that some in the Spanish ambassador's house have been preparing mischief, and infused it about four days since into his majesty. But the curtain of privacy is drawn before the picture, that I cannot guess at the colours." "Well, my lord" (replied the prince), "I expected better service from you; for, if that be the picture-drawer's shop, no counsellor in this kingdom is better acquainted than yourself with the works, and the workmen." "I might have been" (answered the lord-keeper), "but your highness, and my lord duke, have made it a crime to send unto that house; and they are afraid to do it who are commanded from his majesty. It is a month since I have forbidden the servants of that family to come at me." "But" (said the prince) "I will make that passage open to you again without offence, and enterprize any way to bring us out of this wood wherein we are lost. Only before we part, keep not from me how you came to know, or imagine, that the Spanish agents have charged Buckingham to my father with high misdemeanours, or, perhaps, disloyalty. I would hear you to that point, that I may compare it with other parcels of my intelligence." "Sir" (replied the lord-keeper), "I will go directly with you. Another perhaps would blush, when I tell you with what heifer I plow; but knowing my own innocence, the worst that can happen is to expose myself to be laughed at. Your highness has often seen the secretary Don Francisco Carondelet. He loves me, because he is a scholar; for he is archdeacon of Cambray. And sometimes we are pleasant

fant together; for he is a Walloon by birth, and not a Castilian. I have discovered him to be a wanton, and a servant to some of our English beauties, but above all to one of that gentle craft in Mark-lane. A wit she is, and one that must be courted with news and occurrences at home and abroad, as well as with gifts. I have a friend that hath bribed her in my name, to send me a faithful conveyance of such tidings as her paramour Carondelet brings to her. All that I instructed the duke in came out of her chamber. And she hath well earned a piece of plate or two from me, and shall not be unrecompenced for this service, about which your highness doth use me, if the drab can help me in it. Truly, Sir, this is my dark lanthorn, and I am not ashamed to enquire of a Dalilah to resolve a riddle: for, in my studies of divinity, I have gleaned up this maxim, *Licet uti alieno peccato*; though the devil makes her a sinner, I may make good use of her sin." "Yea" (said the prince merrily), "do you deal in such ware?" "In good faith, Sir" (replied the lord-keeper), "I never saw her face." In this manner the conference between them ended; but Williams afterwards found means, with great art and address, to draw from Don Francisco Carondelet himself the particulars of the Spanish charge against Buckingham. He also drew up an answer to that charge for the duke's use, and sent them both to him by the prince. By which means the favourite was soon restored to the good graces of king James.

But notwithstanding the services which Williams rendered to Buckingham, he could not secure that favourite's friendship. This, it seems, was not to be done but by an implicit conformity to his will and pleasure in all things: and this Williams could not be brought to. Our prelate's interest with the king was, however, so great, that he continued to hold

hold his post till the death of James, whom he attended in his last moments. He also preached his funeral sermon, in which he flattered the deceased king very liberally. James had promised him the reversion of the archbishopric of York; but neither the services he had performed for Charles in shielding him, while prince of Wales, from his father's displeasure, nor the exertions of his political talents to prevent the fall of Buckingham his favourite, could secure him the protection of the new monarch, or the countenance of the ungrateful minister. The reason is obvious: the character of the lord-keeper was by no means suitable to the system of despotism intended to be established by the king, Buckingham, and Laud. He was too able an advocate for the religious and civil rights and privileges of the subject. He was, therefore, dismissed from his office as soon as it could be done with any appearance of decency, which was after the dissolution of the first parliament in this reign. Between this event and the calling of a second parliament, Buckingham was allowed to remove those officers of the crown who had opposed his measures in the first, and, amongst these, was the lord-keeper, who joined with the earl of Pembroke, and other patriots, in the upper-house, to obtain redress for the grievances complained of by the people. The seals were taken from the bishop of Lincoln in October, 1625, and given to Sir Thomas Coventry. It was likewise hinted to him, that his presence at the council-board would be dispensed with; and that he would incur the king's displeasure if he took his seat in the next parliament. With respect to the last injunction, the good bishop thought it his duty not to comply. On the contrary, finding that no writ had been issued to summon him, or the earl of Bristol, he joined with that nobleman in a complaint to the house of lords of this breach of privilege; and their lordships petitioned

petitioned the king that writs might be issued, which were done accordingly, and the bishop attended closely to his duty in the parliament of 1626, supporting the petition of right with patriotic zeal; which being resented by the court, a commission was appointed by the minister to make a strict scrutiny into his decrees in the chancery, the star-chamber, and high-commission-courts, which terminated to his honour, and to the confusion of his enemies. However, in the end, they prevailed by the infamous management of archbishop Laud, who engaged two of his creatures, Sir John Lamb and Dr. Sibthorpe, to lodge an information against him in the star-chamber for protecting of Puritans, by discouraging them in their prosecution of these sectaries found in his diocese; and when this charge was found insufficient to incur any heavy penalty, Sir John Monson, another dependant on Laud, swore that the bishop of Lincoln had bribed the king's evidences, and thereby put a stop to a former prosecution commenced against him. After nine days deliberation, though the evidences who supported these charges were men of the most infamous character, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000*l.* to the king, another of 1000 marks to Sir John Monson, to be suspended by the high-commission-court from his ecclesiastical functions, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure.

Bishop Williams received the news of this unjust and oppressive sentence with great composure, saying, "Now the work is over, my heart is at rest; so is not many of theirs who have censured me." He was committed to the Tower, where he remained three years, and astonished even his enemies by his fortitude and patience, being as chearful as usual, and amusing himself with literary employments. Upon the meeting of the long parliament in November,

vember, 1640, he petitioned the king, and obtained the queen's mediation for his enlargement, and that he might have his writ as a peer to sit in parliament; but such was the influence of archbishop Laud and the lord-keeper Finch, that his majesty refused it. However, the house of lords thought proper to exert their authority upon this occasion; for about a fortnight after they sent the usher of the black rod to the lieutenant of the Tower to demand the bishop of Lincoln, and though the king was apprised of this measure, he durst not oppose it; and he was peaceably surrendered to the usher, who conducted him to the house of peers, where he instantly took his seat. His majesty, from the worst of motives, a dread of his lodging complaints against the ministry, thought proper to be reconciled to him, and to order all the records of the information and proceedings against him to be destroyed; not as some have asserted, "that nothing might stand upon record against him," but in order to screen Laud, and the other judges who had passed sentence upon him, from a parliamentary enquiry into their conduct, which was threatened by the leaders in the opposition. But such was the amiable disposition of this great and good man, that no entreaties or persuasions could induce him to prosecute his enemies, or indeed to complain of them to the house.

When the attainder of the earl of Strafford was before the house of peers (according to the account given by Dr. Hacket, his chaplain, who was made bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in the reign of Charles II.), he maintained the right of the bench of bishops to vote in capital cases, which was warmly contested; but lord Clarendon asserts the very contrary, and declares, that without communicating with any of his brethren, he not only withdrew when this business came on, but frankly declared, that

that where life was concerned, they ought not to be present. From the character of bishop Hacket, a man distinguished for his piety, his learning, and his accuracy as an historian, we have reason to believe he has related the truth; especially as lord Clarendon takes all occasions to condemn the principles and conduct of Williams.

When the king declared, that he neither would nor could, in conscience, give the royal assent to the act of attainder against Strafford, lord Say desired the king to confer with the bishops for the satisfaction of his conscience, and with bishop Williams in particular, who advised him to reflect on his own situation; that his own life, his queen's, and his children's, were in danger from the fury of the incensed multitude; that the nation seemed to be unanimous in demanding the head of that unfortunate nobleman; and therefore as a king, whose duty it was to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and to gratify the wishes of his subjects, it ought not to wound his conscience, even though an innocent man should suffer for the good of society. Lord Clarendon has misrepresented this advice given by our prelate greatly to his disadvantage; but, upon examining other historians, it appears to amount to no more than we have just stated, and not to be reprehensible, especially as both houses of parliament had previously condemned the earl.

The archiepiscopal see of York becoming vacant in 1641, our prelate claimed the reversion upon the strength of the late king's promise; and the situation of public affairs making it expedient for Charles to retain in his service a man of his political abilities and moderate temper, he was promoted to that dignity; and the same year he made a very long and learned speech in the house of lords, in opposition to the bill for depriving the bishops of seats in that house, which occasioned it to lay upon the

table five months. At length, the mob flocked about the parliament house, crying out “No bishops! No bishops!” and insulted many of them as they passed to the house, particularly the new-made archbishop of York, who was personally assaulted, and had his robes torn from his back: upon which, it is acknowledged, he lost his temper, and retiring to his house, the deanery of Westminster, he sent for all the bishops then in town, amounting with himself to twelve; when with great impetuosity he proposed and prepared a protestation, which was unanimously signed and sent to the house of lords, “complaining of the violence by which they were prevented from attending, and protesting against all the acts which were or should be done during the time that they should by force be kept from doing their duties in the house.” This protestation was no sooner communicated to the house of peers, than the lords, who had promoted the bill for depriving the prelates of their seats, expressed their joy at receiving it, and cried out, that this was *Digitus Dei* to accomplish that which they had despaired of; and without passing any judgment upon it themselves, they desired a conference with the house of commons, who soon concurred with them to charge the protesters with being guilty of high-treason, and to send them all to the Tower: accordingly they were committed, and remained in prison till the bill was passed for depriving them of their seats in parliament, which did not happen till some months after. One gentleman only in the house of commons spoke in favour of the prelates, and that rather sarcastically than with any intention to serve them; for he said, “He did not believe they were guilty of high-treason, but that they were stark-mad, and therefore he desired they might be sent to Bedlam.”

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In June, 1642, when the king was at York, the archbishop was installed in person in the cathedral; but in July his majesty was obliged to leave York, and the archbishop did not remain long after him; for the younger Hotham having sworn to seize and put him to death for opprobrious words spoken against him concerning his usage of the king at Hull, he thought proper to retire to Cawood Castle, where Dr. Ferne, whom he had formerly made archdeacon of Leicester, came to him one night very late, and advised him to leave the house and the county as fast as possible, because his adversary was coming against him with a strong force, and intended to attack the castle by five o'clock the next morning. Upon this intelligence, which proved to be true, the archbishop made his escape at midnight with a few horse, and what effects he could carry off at such short notice. He retired into Wales to Aber Conway, where he had an estate, and he repaired and fortified Conway Castle, for the king's use, which so highly pleased his majesty, that by a letter dated from Oxford, August the 1st, 1643, he heartily desired him to go on with that work; assuring him, that he should be reimbursed his expences, before the custody of the castle was given to any other person than himself, or whom he should recommend. The beginning of the following year the king having sent for the archbishop to attend him at Oxford, he deputed the custody of the castle to his nephew William Hooks, Esq; and being arrived at Oxford, he cautioned his majesty against Oliver Cromwell, whom he represented as his most dangerous enemy, assuring him, that though he was at that time of mean rank and use in the army, he would soon climb higher. "I knew him," said the archbishop, "at Bugden; but never knew his religion. He was a common

spokesman for sectaries, and maintained their parts with stubbornness. He never discoursed as if he was pleased with your majesty and your great officers: indeed, he loves none that are more than his equals. Your majesty did him but justice in repulsing a petition put up by him against Sir Thomas Steward, of the isle of Ely; but he takes them all for his enemies, that would not let him undo his best friend: and above all that live, I think he is *injuriarum persequentissimus*, as Portius Latro said of Cataline. He talks openly that it is fit some person should act more vigorously against your forces, and bring your person into the power of the parliament. He cannot give a good word of his general, the earl of Essex, because, he says, the earl is but half an enemy to your majesty, and hath done you more favour than harm. His fortunes are broken, that it is impossible for him to subsist, much less to be what he aspires to, but by your majesty's bounty, or by the ruin of us all, and a common confusion, as one said, *Lentulus salva republica salvus esse non potuit*. In short, every beast hath some evil properties; but Cromwell hath the properties of all evil beasts. My humble motion is, that either you would win him to you by promises of fair treatment, or catch him by some stratagem, and cut him short."

After some stay at Oxford, he returned to Wales, having received fresh instructions from the king to take care of all North Wales, but more particularly of Conway Castle, in which the people of the country by his permission had placed their most valuable effects. In 1647, Sir John Owen, a colonel in the royal army, marching into that part of the country after a defeat, obtained of prince Rupert an appointment under his hand to the command of Conway Castle; and accordingly he entered it by force, though Williams produced the king's

king's letter, in which he grants the command to him or his deputy till his expences in repairing and fortifying it should be refunded. Owen, however, not only detained the effects of the archbishop and of the people of the country, but even refused him some of his own beer and wine for present use. It was in vain that he remonstrated to the king against Owen's conduct; and therefore, finding no other means of redress, he consented to join with the people, whose effects were lodged in the castle, in assisting colonel Milton, a zealous officer in the parliament-service, to force open the gates and retake it. The archbishop attended in person upon this occasion, and surrendered the castle to colonel Milton, upon the express condition, that every person should receive his property detained by Owen, which he saw punctually performed; yet he was loudly censured by the royalists for this transaction.

From this time, no farther mention is made of the archbishop in public life. He was so affected with the horrors of the civil war, and finally with the king's execution, that he passed the remainder of his days in close retirement at the house of lady Mostyn at Llandegay, dividing his time between study and devotion, his natural chearfulness giving way to dejection and heavy grief, which put a period to his life on the 25th of March (his birth-day) 1650. He was interred in the parish church of Llandegay, where, some years after his decease, his nephew and heir Sir Griffith Williams erected a monument to his memory.

Archbishop Williams acquired some reputation as a theological writer by many sermons which appeared in print, but more by the treatise which we have noticed in the life of Laud against that prelate's

innovations in the rites and ceremonies of the church. It is intituled, "The Holy Table, Name, and Thing, more antiently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of Altar; written long ago by a Minister of Lincolnshire, in answer to Dr. Cole, a judicious divine of queen Mary's days." It was printed for the diocese of Lincoln in 1657, 4to, but has never been reprinted, and is now rarely to be met with. Though lord Clarendon was no friend to the archbishop, he represents this book as full of good learning, and that learning closely and solidly applied; and it has been held in great esteem by the dissenters from the Church of England, who venerate the character of our prelate as the only one of his order in his time who had the courage to stand forth in support of religious toleration. In his private life he is charged with ostentation and luxury, but it does not appear that he deserved this censure; for the whole accusation amounts to no more than this, that he lived more hospitably than any of his predecessors at Bugden, and when he was lord-keeper he kept open-house for all persons of rank who travelled that way: and he seldom sat down to table without some of the clergy of his diocese. He was also remarkably charitable to the poor; and when he was reproached for living with too much splendour, he used to say, he would spend his own while he had it, for he thought his adversaries would not let him enjoy it long. He continued his customary mode of living after he had incurred the displeasure of king Charles, and was known to be in disgrace. This enraged the ministry; and, being told of it, he coolly replied; "That he knew not what he had done, to live the worse for their sakes, who did not love him." He was very liberal to poor scholars in both universities, and to learned foreigners in

in distress : a remarkable instance of which deserves to be preserved as an example to others of true and delicate munificence. Peter du Moulin, an eminent French protestant divine, fled to England, to avoid the violent persecutions carried on against that profession in his own country. Soon after his arrival, the bishop ordered his chaplain to make him a visit ; and supposing him to be in want, he ordered him to take some money for him, not naming any sum. Upon which Hacket said, he could not give him less than twenty pounds. “ I did demur upon the sum, said the bishop, to try you. Is twenty pounds a fit gift for me to give to a man of his parts and deserts ? Take an hundred, and present it from me, and tell him I will come shortly and visit him myself.” He was also a great patron to his countryman John Owen the epigrammatic poet, whom he maintained for several years, and when he died, he buried him, and erected a monument to his memory at his own expence. His disbursements, wholly employed in acts of benevolence and charity, amounted yearly to 1000*l.* and sometimes to 1200*l.* and it was extended to private gentlemen who were distressed by narrow fortunes, and unable without his bounty to live in character. Yet he found means to repair and beautify the choir of Westminster Abbey, to build a library for the college of St. John at Cambridge, where he received his education, and a chapel at Lincoln College, Oxford, from the single circumstance of its bearing the name of his diocese, having no connection whatever with that college.

An accident happened to him, when he was a boy, which Hacket relates in his life, and it ought to find a place here with the same good intent ; to refute the scandalous reflections to be found in some writers, his contemporaries, respecting the very close intimacy which, it is pretended, subsisted be-

tween him and the countess of Buckingham, the duke's mother. "He suffered an adventitious accident when he was about seven years of age, which compelled him to actual chastity. He took a leap, being then in long coats, from the walls of Conway-town to the sea shore, looking that the wind which was then very strong would fill his coats like a sail, and bear him up as it did his play-fellows. But he found it otherwise; for he did light with his belly upon a big, ragged stone, which caused a secret infirmity, fitter to be understood than farther described; and want of timely remedy, the skill of good surgery being little known in that country, continued it to his dying day."

* * * *Authorities.* Life of Archbishop Williams, by Doctor John Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1693. Fol. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. Arthur Wilson's Life of James I.

S U P P L E M E N T.

Memoirs of BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, and
PHILIP MASSINGER, Dramatic Poets.

[A. D. 1576, to 1625.]

IT may be observed, that the æra of British history, comprised in this volume, afforded little opportunity for the progress and improvement of the polite arts. The commercial spirit, which animated the main body of the nation in the days of Elizabeth, operated more powerfully in the reign of James I. The whole attention of the mercantile classes of the people was engrossed by the infant colonies, which were firmly established, and began to repay the adventures and proprietors with profit. This engaged greater numbers, in the hopes of similar success, to embark in commercial pursuits. And as to the nobility and gentry, from the accession of James to the death of Charles, they were constantly involved in religious or political disputes, and their chief business was the improvement of their estates; so that they had neither time nor inclination to patronise and cultivate those arts which serve to embellish kingdoms, and to refine society. The favourite public amusements were those of the theatre, and therefore dramatic poetry met with great encouragement; but as for sculpture, painting, and music, they were confined within the narrow circle of the court. James had a taste for architecture,

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and took under his protection our countryman, the celebrated Inigo Jones. Charles, who had a more than ordinary skill in the liberal arts, continued Jones in the royal service; but painting being the darling art with this monarch, he was more liberal of his favours and rewards to those celebrated Flemish masters, Sir Peter Paul Rubens and Vandyke. Those he invited to England, and retained in his service a considerable time, and married the latter to one of his kinswomen. At the same time, from an unhappy prejudice which too long prevailed in this kingdom, but is now wearing off, an English painter was neglected, and died almost in penury. We shall conclude this brief introduction to the lives of the professors of the liberal and polite arts during this period, by noticing that their most distinguished patrons, besides the sovereigns, were the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, and archbishop Laud; and that a famous Scotch musician, whose name was Laws, was a particular favourite with Charles I. and was styled, by his royal patron, "The Father of English Music."

Beaumont and Fletcher were so intimately connected as authors, and likewise as inseparable friends and companions, that it has been usual to blend their memoirs; but as the incidents of their separate lives must necessarily differ, we shall give them separate, so far as it can be done independently of their literary concerns.

Mr. FRANCIS BEAUMONT was descended from an ancient family of his name settled at *Grace-diau* in Leicestershire, where he was born about the year 1585. His father was one of the judges of the court of Common-Pleas in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and his elder brother, Sir John Beaumont, followed the profession of the law, from which he

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retired early in life, having married a lady of considerable fortune; and he then became no inconsiderable poet; as appears by some verses written in praise of his poems by Ben Jonson.

Our dramatic poet was educated at Cambridge, and from thence was admitted of the Inner-Temple, being likewise designed for the law; but his poetic genius prevailing, he devoted himself so entirely to the Muses, that he quitted all other studies; and it is supposed, from the success of the plays written by him and Fletcher, that he stood indebted to them for his subsistence during a very short life, probably passed in gaiety and dissipation, but of which we have no particular account; only we find, that he died in 1615, before he was thirty years of age, and was buried at the entrance of St. Benedict's chapel in Westminster-Abbey.

In the preface to the works of Beaumont and Fletcher we are told, that he left one daughter, named Frances Beaumont, who died in Leicestershire in 1700. This lady had in her possession several poems written by her father; but they were lost at sea in her voyage from Ireland, where she had lived some time in the duke of Ormond's family. Besides the plays in which he was jointly concerned with Fletcher, he wrote a little dramatic piece, intituled, "A Masque of Gray's-Inn Gentlemen;" "The Inner-Temple, a poetical epistle to Ben Jonson;" "Verses to his friend master John Fletcher, upon his faithful shepherdes;" and other poems printed together in 1653, in 8vo. Mr. Beaumont was esteemed so good a judge of dramatic compositions, that Ben Jonson submitted his writings to his correction, and it is thought was much indebted to him for the contrivance of his plots. What an affection Jonson had for him appears from the following verses addressed to him:

How do I love thee, Beaumont, and thy muse,
 That unto me do'st such religion use !
 How do I fear myself that am not worth
 The least indulgent thought, thy pen drops forth.
 At once thou mak'st me happy, and unmak'st ;
 And giving largely to me, more thou tak'st,
 What fate is mine, and so itself bereaves !
 What art is thine, that so thy friend deceives !
 When, even there, where most thou praisest me,
 For writing better I must envy thee.

Sir John Beaumont survived his brother many years ; and, as a specimen of his poetry, it may not be improper to annex the lines he wrote upon his death, taken from Sir John's poem, intituled, " Bosworth Field ;"

On Death, thy murderer, this revenge I take,
 I flight his terror, and just question make,
 Which of us two the best precedence have,
 Mine to this wretched world, thine to the grave.
 Thou shouldst have followed me ; but Death, to blame,
 Miscounted years, and measured age by fame.
 So dearly hast thou bought thy precious lines ;
 Their praise grew swiftly, so thy life declines.
 Thy muse, the hearer's queen, the readers love,
 All ears, all hearts (but Death's) could please and move.

Mr. JOHN FLETCHER was the son of Dr. Richard Fletcher, bishop of London, in 1594, a prelate not remarkably eminent, but whose memory is preserved in history on account of three remarkable circumstances. First, that he was the father of our poet. Secondly, that he incurred the displeasure of queen Elizabeth (who had an extreme aversion to the marriages of the clergy, especially of those whom she had advanced to the prelacy), by marrying,

rying, when he was in the decline of life, a second wife, young and very handsome ; for which offence she ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to suspend him for a time. Thirdly, that his sudden death, being to all appearance well, sick, and dead, in a quarter of an hour, was generally imputed to the immoderate use of tobacco, which brought that herb, the qualities of which were not then well known, into great disrepute. Our poet was born in Northamptonshire in 1576, and was educated at Cambridge, where he commenced his friendly intercourse with Beaumont. It is imagined that he was of Bennet-College, because his father had been a great benefactor to that society ; not only in his life-time, but by legacies in his will. No transactions of our poet's life are noticed by any biographers, except his literary performances, concerning which we are informed that he wrote plays in conjunction with Beaumont, and that he assisted Ben Jonson in a comedy called "The Widow." He likewise lent his aid to another esteemed friend, Philip Massinger, a dramatic writer of inferior note, who flourished in the reign of James I. and published fourteen plays written by himself, besides those that he wrote in conjunction with the other poets his contemporaries, of whom, Middleton, Rowley, Field and Decker, were properly the minor poets. Fletcher died of the plague in London in 1625, and was interred in the church of St. Mary Overy in Southwark ; Massinger died suddenly in 1639, and was buried, according to Sir Aston Cockaine, in the same grave.

It is very singular, that the lives of these three dramatic writers should have furnished few or no incidents worthy of record, so that they are indebted solely to their pens for posthumous reputation ; a lesson this to mankind, pointing out a
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road to fame after death, attainable by the improvement of the human mind, where the scenes of life are laid in a private station, affording otherways no striking transaction worthy to be transmitted to the next generation.

It is not justly known what parts were allotted distinctively to each in the plays composed by the joint labours of Beaumont and Fletcher. The prevailing opinion is, that Beaumont's cool judgment was usually employed in connecting and retrenching the exuberances of Fletcher's sprightly wit and humour, and that Beaumont likewise formed the plots, and most material incidents of the drama; yet, if Winstanly may be credited, his associate must at times have had a share in the business as well as the language of their pieces: for that author relates, in his *Lives of the Poets*, that Beaumont and Fletcher meeting once at a tavern, in order to sketch the plan of a tragedy, Fletcher undertook to kill the king; which proposition being overheard by a waiter, he very officiously ran to a neighbouring magistrate, and lodged an information against them for high-treason; upon which they were apprehended, but upon examination before the justice, it appearing, that they meant no other but the king of their tragedy, they were discharged, and the matter getting wind ended in mirth. After the death of Beaumont, Mr. Fletcher is said to have consulted Mr. James Shirley in forming the plots of several of his plays; but we have no rules for discovering which those were, nor is it of any consequence at this distance of time. It is more satisfactory to know in what degree of estimation our authors have been held by the eminent poets and critics of succeeding ages. Mr. Philips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, observes, "that he was one of the happy triumvirate of the chief

chief dramatic poets of our nation in the last foregoing age, among whom there might be said to be a symmetry of perfection, while each excelled in his peculiar way ; Ben Jonson, in his elaborate pains and knowledge of authors ; Shakespeare, in his pure vein of wit and natural poetic height ; and Fletcher, in a courtly elegance and genteel familiarity of style, and withal a wit and invention so overflowing, that the luxuriant branches thereof were frequently thought convenient to be lopped off by his almost inseparable companion Francis Beaumont.

Mr. Dryden, in his essay on dramatic poetry, remarks, that Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, in his time, were the most pleasing and frequent entertainments ; two of theirs being acted through the year, for one of Shakespeare's or Jonson's ; and the reason he assigns is, because there is a certain gaiety in their comedies, and a pathos in their most serious plays, which suits generally with all men's humours. The case, however, is now reversed ; for Shakespeare's plays are in full possession of the stage, while those of Beaumont and Fletcher are but rarely performed.

It must not be denied, however, that the works of our authors, though they have the sanction of the greatest names in their praise, are liable to many objections, and deserve censure, which they have not escaped. Mr. Rymer, the celebrated author of the *Fœdera*, &c. has criticised them in a book intitled, "The Tragedies of the last Age considered and examined by the Practice of the Ancients, and by the Common Sense of all Ages." In this tract the curious researcher will find their faults pointed out with more truth than good-humour ; and to balance this, he must refer to the beauties illustrated by Denham, Waller, and the other admirers of our authors already mentioned.

The

The first edition of all the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, amounting to upwards of fifty plays, was published, in folio, in 1679. Another edition was published in 1711, in 7 vols. 8vo. and another in 1751, in 10 vols. 8vo.

**** Authorities.* Fuller's Worthies in Northamptonshire. Jacob's Poetical Register. Winstanley—and Cibber's lives of the Poets. Gen. Biog. Dictionary.

THE LIFE OF

B E N J O N S O N.

(A. D. 1574, to 1634.)

With Memoirs of MICHAEL DRAYTON,
and WILLIAM DRUMMOND.

BEN JONSON, one of the fathers of the English theatre, was the fruit of a posthumous birth, and came into the world about a month after the death of his father. Being born in Westminster, he was put to a private school in the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; but removed thence at a proper age, to that of the royal foundation, where Camden became his master. As his father was a gentleman and a clergyman, this step seems

seems to have been taken in the view of breeding him to the church. But the widow, being left in narrow circumstances, thought fit to accept an offer of marriage, made to her by a bricklayer; and, after her son had continued some years at Westminster-school, and made an extraordinary progress in classical learning, she took him away, and obliged him to work under his step-father.

This was nipping the first sprig of his dawning genius in the bud; but his spirit was not of a temper to take the bent of so mortifying a change. In the depth of his resentment, he left his mother; and enlisting himself a soldier was carried to the English army, then engaged against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Here he acquired a degree of military glory which rarely falls to the lot of a private soldier. In an encounter with a single man of the enemy, he slew his opponent; and stripping him carried off the spoils in the view of both armies.

Upon his return home, he followed the bent of his inclination; and resuming his studies went to St. John's college in Cambridge. But here he had soon the misfortune to undergo a second mortification. The scantiness of his purse not supplying him with the decent conveniencies of learned ease, he found himself under a necessity of quitting the seat of the muses, after a short stay there. In this exigence he took a course, not uncommon to persons of such a genius under the like distress. He applied to the play-houses, and was admitted into an obscure one, called the Green Curtain, in the neighbourhood of Shoreditch and Clerkenwell. He had not been long in this station, when, not contenting himself with the business of an actor only, he took up his pen, and wrote some pieces for the stage. But his performances either way did no credit to his genius.

During

During his continuance in this humble station, he had a quarrel with one of the players, who sending him a challenge, there ensued a duel, wherein Jonson killed his adversary. For this offence being thrown into prison, under that misfortune his spirit was sunk into such a degree of melancholy, that he became a fit object to be subdued by the crafty attacks of a Popish priest, who officiously visited him in his confinement, prevailed upon him to renounce the doctrine he was bred in, and become a Roman Catholic; and he remained twelve years within the pale of that church. But, not long after this change in his religious condition, he also made a change in his civil one, and took to himself a wife, having first obtained his releasement from prison. His spirit revived with his liberty; and, in defiance of all the discouragements he met with, he went on digging in the poetic mine, and, by dint of unparalleled industry, improved his genius so much, that at length he produced a play, which having the good fortune to fall into the hands of Shakespeare, that humane, good-natured bard, resolving to do full justice to its merit, employed his interest to bring it upon the stage, and acted a part in it himself.

Thus encouraged, his genius ripened apace, and his comedy, intituled, "Every Man in his Humour," made its appearance on the same stage in 1598. This was followed the next year by "Every Man out of his Humour." And he continued, in like manner, to furnish a new play every year, till he was called off by the masques and entertainments made for the reception of king James I. on his accession to the throne of England. He was continually retained in this employ, on all occasions, during the remainder of his life.

But

But these flighter efforts of his muse did not wholly occupy his genius. Both inclination and ambition concurred in prompting him to the graver and weightier works of the drama. Accordingly, in 1605, came out his comedy of "Volpone; or, the Fox;" which being finished in the space of five weeks, did not hinder him from indulging the sourness of his temper, in a satirical comedy, called, "Eastward Hoe," in which there were some satirical reflexions upon the Scotch nation. In this piece Chapman and Marston were his coadjutors; and they were all three committed to prison, and brought in danger of losing their ears and noses in the pillory, but, however, had the good fortune to obtain a pardon.

To repair this fault, Jonson sacrificed both his time and his muse, almost intirely, to gratify the taste of the court in masques, for some years; so that his next play did not make its appearance till 1609. But he made some amends for the length of this interval, by the perfection of the piece, which he intituled, "Epicœne, or the Silent Woman;" this being generally esteemed the most exact and finished comedy that our nation had then produced. And the next year he brought forth "The Alchemist," one of the best of his comedies; but that was followed the ensuing year, 1611, by the worst of his tragedies, intituled, "Catiline."

In 1613, our author took a tour to Paris, where he was admitted to an interview and conversation with cardinal Perron, whom he treated with that frankness and bluntness which was natural to him. It was about this time that he commenced a quarrel with Inigo Jones, whom he therefore made the subject of his ridicule in his next comedy, called "Bartholomew Fair," acted in 1614. That was succeeded by "The Devil's an Ass," in 1616.

This

This year, he published his works in one folio volume; and the poet-laureat's salary, of an hundred marks per annum, was settled upon him for life, by king James I. the same year. He had now obtained so much reputation, that he saw the most distinguished wits of his time crowding his train, and courting his acquaintance. And, in that spirit, he was invited to Christ-Church in Oxford, by Dr. Corbet, then senior-student of that college. Our poet gladly accepted the invitation; and, having passed some time in cultivating his muse in that delightful seat, he received an additional attestation of his merit from the university, who presented him with the honorary degree of Master of Arts, at the act in 1619. On the death of the laureat, Samuel Daniel, in October following, Jonson succeeded to that post, the duty of which had been chiefly performed by him a long time before.

The year had not expired when our new-crowned laureat took a tour into Scotland, on purpose to visit a favourite brother-poet, Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, in that country. He passed some months with this ingenious friend, to whom he opened his heart with a most unreserved freedom and confidence, the sweetest gift of friendship. Our author was much pleased with the adventures of this journey, and celebrated them in a particular poem; which, with several more of his productions, being accidentally burnt, about two or three years afterwards, that loss drew from him a poem, which he called, "An Execration upon Vulcan." He seems to have let no year pass without the amusement of writing some of these smaller pieces. And those, with the masques, which the office of poet-laureat then particularly called for every Christmas, filled up the interval to the year 1625; when his comedy,

in-

intituled. "The Staple of News," appeared upon the stage. Not long afterwards he fell into an ill state of health, which, however, did not hinder the discharge of his duty at court. And he found time also to gratify the more agreeable exercise of play-writing; for in 1629, he brought another comedy, called, "The New-Inn; or, the Light Heart," to the theatre. But here his adversaries prevailed over him: the play was hissed out of the house on its first appearance there; and our laureat had recourse to his pride for revenge, which dictated an ode to himself, threatening to leave the stage, which he did soon after. This step having reduced his finances to a low ebb, the king, Charles I. graciously sent him a purse of an hundred pounds. That goodness was properly and in character repaid by the following epigram, addressed to his royal benefactor:

Great Charles, among the holy gifts of grace,
 Annexed to thy person and thy place,
 'Tis not enough (thy piety is such)
 To cure the called king's-evil with a touch,
 But thou wilt yet a kingly mast'ry try,
 To cure the poet's evil, poverty:
 And in these cures dost to thyself enlarge,
 As thou dost cure our evil at thy charge.
 Nay, and in this thou shew'st to value more
 One poet, than of other folks ten score.
 O piety! so to weigh the poor's estates,
 O bounty! so to difference the rates.
 What can the poet wish his king may do,
 But that he cure the people's evil too?

But his majesty's munificence did not stop here; he augmented the laureat's salary of an hundred marks to an hundred pounds a year, together
 with

with the addition of a tierce of canary wine; which pension has been continued to his successors in that office ever since. Our poet obtained this favour by the annexed droll petition:

The humble petition of poor Ben,
To the best of monarchs, masters, men,
King Charles,

Doth most humbly shew it,
To your majesty, your poet:
That whereas your royal father
James the blessed, pleased the rather,
Of his special grace to letters,
To make all the muses debtors
To his bounty, by extension
Of a free poetic pension,
A large hundred marks annuity,
To be given me in gratuity,
For done service, and to come:
And that this so accepted sum,
Or dispensed in books or bread,
(For on both the muse was fed)
Hath drawn on me from the times
All the envy of the rhimes,
And the rattling pit-pat noise
Of the less poetic boys,
When their pot-guns aim to hit,
With their pellets of small wit,
Parts of one (they judg'd) decay'd;
But we last out still unlay'd.
Please your majesty to make,
Of your grace, for goodness' sake,
Those your father's marks your pounds:
Let their spite (which now abounds)
Then go on and do its worst,
This would all their envy burst:
And so warm the poet's tongue,
You'll read a snake in his next song.

King

King Charles the First's personal character makes it no improbable supposition, that these acts of bounty might be in some measure the effects of his compassion for this old servant, who began now to sink into a visible decay both of body and mind. 'Tis true, we have two comedies written by him afterwards; but they are such as have not been unfitly called his dotage; and he found himself under a necessity of absolutely laying down his pen soon after the year 1634.

His disorder was the palsy, which put a period to his life on the 6th of August, 1637, in the sixty-third year of his age. He was interred three days afterwards in Westminster-Abbey, at the north-west end, near the belfry. Over his grave was laid a common pavement-stone, with this laconic inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson!" It was done at the expence of Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Young, of Great-Milton, in Oxfordshire. But a much better monument was raised to his memory six months afterwards, when there came out a collection of elegies and poems, intituled, "Jonsonius Virbius! or, the Memory of Ben Jonson revived by the Friends of the Muses." And, presently after, there was a design set on foot to erect a marble monument with his statue, and a considerable sum of money was collected for the purpose; but the breaking-out of the civil war prevented the carrying it into execution, and the money was returned. The bust, in bas-relief, with the former inscription under it, that is now fixed to the wall in the Poets Corner, near the south-east entrance into the Abbey, was set up by the second earl of Oxford, of the Harley family.

As to our poet's own family, it became extinct in him, for he survived all his children. As to his person and character, if we may depend on his own de-

description, his body was large, corpulent, and bulky, and his countenance hard and rocky. With respect to the cast of his temper and natural disposition, his friend Mr. Drummond says, that he was “A great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; chusing rather to lose his friend than his jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which was one of the elements in which he lived; a dissembler of the parts which reigned in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted; he thought nothing right, but what either himself or some of his friends had said or done. He was passionately kind and angry; careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he was well answered, greatly chagrined; interpreting the best sayings and deeds often to the worst. He was for either religion, being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which over-mastered his reason; a general disease among the poets.” He had a very strong memory; for he tells us himself in his “Discoveries,” that in his youth he could have repeated whole books that he had read, and poems of some select friends, which he thought worth charging his memory with.

As to his genius, the character of it, in respect to dramatic poetry, has been already touched upon. To which must be added Mr. Pope’s remark, that, “When our author got possession of the stage, he brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, which appears from those frequent lessons (and indeed almost declamations) which he was forced to prefix to his first plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the grex, chorus, &c. to remove the prejudices and reform the judgment of his hearers. ’Till then, the English authors had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the ancients: their tragedies were

were only histories in dialogue, and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no less implicitly than if it had been true history."

Ben Jonson appears to have had no nice ear for poetry; however, Mr. Drummond declares, that his inventions were smooth and easy. He does not appear to have had much conception of those breaks and rests, or of adapting the sound of his verse to the sense, which are the chief beauties of our best modern poets. 'Tis universally agreed, with his last-mentioned friend, that translation or imitation was his most distinguished talent, wherein he excelled all his contemporaries; and besides his new-forming our drama after the antient models, he gave us the first Pindaric ode in the English language that has any just claim to that title.

After the edition of his works already mentioned, they were reprinted in 1716, in six volumes, octavo; and another edition has been lately printed in 1756, seven volumes, octavo, with notes and additions by Mr. P. Whalley, late fellow of St. John's College in Oxford; who hath likewise inserted Jonson's comedy, intituled, "The Case is Alter'd," not in any former edition.

There is reason to believe that he had a design to write an epic poem, and was to call it *Chrologia*, or the *Worthies* of his Country, all in couplets, as he detested all other rhyme. It is likewise said, that he actually wrote a discourse on poetry, both against *Campion* and *Daniel*, especially the last, where he proved couplets to be the best sort of verses.

It has been already noticed, that our poet lived in great friendship with Mr. William Drummond of Hawthornden in Scotland. Mr. Drummond was a contemporary author and poet; and therefore concise memoirs of this gentleman, and of

Michael Drayton, another poet of great repute in those days, may, with great propriety, be annexed to his life.

MICHAEL DRAYTON was born at Harshull in Warwickshire, in the year 1563; but his family, which was ancient, derived their name from the town of Drayton, in Leicestershire. At ten years of age, it appears that he was page to some person of distinction, by whom it is probable he was sent to Oxford, where, we are told, he enquired of his tutor, "what kind of creatures poets were;" and desired him of all things, if possible, to make him a poet: which we find was effected; for he became eminent in this character several years before the death of queen Elizabeth; and, in the year 1593, he published a collection of Pastorals, under the title of "Idea, the Shepherd's Garland, fashioned in nine eclogues; with Rowland's Sacrifices to the Nine Muses" in 4to. These poems established his reputation as a pastoral poet, and by the English critics they were deemed equal to Boccace. Mr. Drayton reprinted them in folio, in 1619, with considerable emendations, under the title of "Pastorals, containing Eclogues: with the Man in the Moon."

But his serious poems on important subjects do the greatest honour to his memory. "The Barons' Wars;" "England's heroic Epistles;" "The Downfalls of Robert of Normandy, Matilda and Gaveston;" were all composed and made their appearance in the world about the year 1598. The patriotic turn of these pieces, joined to the moral character of the author, acquired him universal esteem. It is not certain what walk of life he pursued; but, as early as the year 1588, it is conjectured he was in the military service of his
coun-

country; for by his description, in one of his poems, of the Spanish invasion, it appears, that he was a spectator at Dover of the defeat of the Armada, and that he was conversant with military men.

On the accession of James I. Mr. Drayton presented a congratulatory poem to his majesty, which was printed in 4to. but to his great mortification it was not very graciously received, which occasioned him to seek for a patron in Henry prince of Wales, to whom he dedicated the first part of his heroic poem, intituled, "Poly-Olbion," by which Greek title, signifying "very happy," he denotes England. It is a chorographical description of this country in English verses of twelve feet, comprised in eighteen songs, illustrated with notes by Selden, the famous antiquary. It is much admired for its historic truth. Unfortunately the prince died before the second part was completed, and this fresh disappointment made Drayton give up all hopes of preferment at court. However, he dedicated this part to prince Charles, and gives a hint of extending his plan to Scotland, but probably want of encouragement made him decline it.

The second volume of Mr. Drayton's poems was published in 1627, containing, "The Battle of Agincourt;" "The Miseries of Queen Margaret;" "The Court of Fairies;" "The Quest of Cynthia;" "The Shepherd's Syrena;" "Elegies;" and "The Moon Calf," a severe satire upon the masculine affectation of the women, and the effeminate disguises of the men in his time, which vile habits were introduced with the love of masques then greatly in vogue. His last performance was a third volume of poems published in 1630, under the title of "The Muses Elyzium;" including three divine poems, "On Noah's Flood;" "The Birth and Miracles of Moses;" and, "David

David and Goliath." The three latter pieces, being greatly inferior to his other performances, are not reprinted in the last edition of his works.

Michael Drayton died in 1631, and was interred in Westminster-Abbey, where his monument with his effigies may be found, in the Poet's Corner.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, a native of Scotland, was the son of Sir John Drummond, of Hawthornden, gentleman-usher to James VI. before he came to the throne of England. He was born in 1585, received part of his education at Edinburgh, and in the year 1606 was sent to the university of Bourges in Flanders to complete it. There he studied the civil law, and made such a progress in that science, that, if he had taken to the practice, it is supposed he would have been the most eminent lawyer of his time in Scotland. But his genius inclining him to history and poetry, he retired, upon his father's death, to his paternal estate at Hawthornden, where he spent his time in reading the Greek and Latin poets, and obliged the world with several excellent productions in prose and verse. "His Cypress Grove," an admired composition in prose, was first published after a dangerous fit of illness; and, soon after, "The Flowers of Sion," a poem.

A melancholy circumstance obliged him once more to visit foreign countries, in order to alleviate and dissipate his grief. This was, the death of an amiable lady, to whom he was on the point of being married. He took up his residence sometimes at Paris, and sometimes at Rome, from which places he visited the several universities of France, Italy, and Germany, conversing and corresponding with all the learned men of the age; at the same time, he made a valuable collection of ancient and modern books. Thus enriched with farther acquisitions

quisitions of knowledge, after eight years absence, he returned to his native country; but, finding it involved in a civil war, he retired again to the continent, but to what part is not certain. During this last absence he is supposed to have written his "History of five of the Kings of Scotland of the name of James," which was not published till after his death. Besides this work, he composed several political tracts against the Covenanters, and the party in opposition to Charles I. Also a celebrated piece intituled, "Irene", being a political and moral oration addressed to the king, the nobility, and the clergy, on the subject of their mutual jealousies, and demonstrating, from reason and history, that a civil war must be the consequence. The marquis of Montrose, having procured a copy of Irene, desired him to print it, as the best means of quieting the minds of the people. He likewise sent him a protection in 1645, with a letter, in which he praises his loyalty and learning. From this circumstance, and that of his having married the year before, it is probable, that he had returned to some part of Scotland as early as the year 1641. He kept up an intimate friendship and correspondence with Drayton and Ben Jonson to the time of their deaths. His own happened in 1649. His works were collected and published in one volume, in folio, with his life prefixed, at Edinburgh, in 1711.

* * *Authorities.* General Biog. Dict. Vol. IV.
 * * Life of Drummond prefixed to his works.

THE LIFE OF
SIR ROBERT COTTON, BART.

Including Memoirs of JOHN SPEED.

[A. D. 1576, to 1631.]

THE celebrated founder of the Cottonian library, whose memory as a patron of learning must ever be revered by the sons of science, was the son of Thomas Cotton, Esq; a private gentleman, possessed of a considerable estate at Denton-hall, near Connington, in Huntingdonshire. He was born there in the year 1570; and was sent to Trinity-college in Cambridge, to complete his education. In 1585, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and soon after he retired from the university, and lived some time with his father at Denton; but at length finding it necessary to acquire some improvements requisite to form the character of the real gentleman, which can only be attained by social intercourse with the great world, he went to London, where the bent of his disposition, which led him to curious and learned researches into antiquity, soon became known, and he was introduced to a society of Antiquarians, composed of men of the first abilities, and of distinguished rank. With these he constantly associated, and it was owing, in a great measure, to his ingenuity and attentive care, that a regular body of Antiquarians were afterwards formed into a society, under that title.

Mr. Cotton now directed his studies to history and antiquities, and being liberally supported by his father,

father, he began to purchase, and to collect, ancient curious historical records, such as treaties, charters, patents, and other valuable manuscripts. About the year 1600, having formed an intimacy with Mr. Camden, he resolved to gain experimental knowledge in his favourite subjects, by travelling with that celebrated antiquarian to the North, and in the course of the excursion, Mr. Camden stood indebted to him for many explanations relative to dubious and obscure circumstances in history, which he candidly acknowledges in his *Britannia*.

About the time of his return, a dispute had arisen between the courts of England and Spain, concerning the precedence claimed by the ambassadors of each at the court of foreign princes; and queen Elizabeth being upon the point of sending Sir Henry Neville and others to Bologne, in quality of her commissioners to negotiate a peace with Spain through the mediation of the archduke Albert, to whom Spain had already sent an embassy, her majesty commanded the newly-established antiquarian society to give their opinion upon the subject, and this occasioned a publication by Mr. Cotton, in defence of the precedence claimed by England, intitled, "A Brief Abstract of the Question of Precedency between England and Spain." But neither Mr. Cotton's treatise, nor the firm resolution of the English court to maintain the precedence, had any weight with the Spanish commissioners, who, unable to carry their point of precedence, abruptly broke up the conferences, and put an end to the negociation.

Whether it was owing to the bad success of this affair, or to any other cause, we find no notice taken of the extraordinary abilities of Mr. Cotton by Elizabeth or her ministry. But upon the accession of James I. he became known at court, and he was in the long list of baronets created by that

monarch on the first institution of that dignity, May 22d, 1611, in the 9th year of the reign of that monarch. From this time we are informed, that his learning and merit were so conspicuous, that he was not only held in high esteem by all men of eminence in the republic of letters, but that he was consulted by administration as an oracle, upon all points of controversy between the court and the people, respecting the political constitution of England.

The terms of the proposed union of England and Scotland were submitted to his opinion. He was desired to give in a state of the laws of England before the Conquest; and of the revenues granted to the kings from time to time. His advice was required with respect to the nature of the dignity and precedence of knights of the bath; and upon the grand question concerning the expediency and utility of debasing the coin, the ministry entirely relied upon his judgment.

In consideration for these services, in 1608, he was appointed one of the commissioners to enquire into the state of the Navy, which had been greatly neglected since the demise of Elizabeth; and he drew up a memorial of their proceedings, which was very graciously received by the king; and having been deeply concerned in the scheme of raising money for the king by the institution of the dignity of baronets, each baronet being obliged to pay 1095l. on passing the patent, in lieu of maintaining thirty foot-soldiers for three years in Ireland, he was raised to that dignity himself, as we have before noticed.

About this time, Sir Robert Cotton wrote "A Discourse of the Lawfulness of Combats to be performed in the Presence of the King or the Constable, or Earl Marshal of England." This piece was printed at London in 1651, and again in 1672. He likewise drew up an answer the
same

same year, 1609, "to such Motives as were offered by certain Military Men to Prince Henry, to incite him to affect Arms more than Peace."

While the treaty of marriage was in agitation between prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, the house of commons, being violently against the match, employed Sir Robert Cotton to point out, from a review of the treaties between England and the house of Austria, the insincerity and duplicity of the latter; and to prove, that in all their transactions they aimed only at universal monarchy. This tract is printed in the *Cottoni Posthuma*, under the Title of "A Remonstrance of the Treaties of Amity, &c."

In 1621, he wrote a popular piece, intituled, "A Relation to prove that the Kings of England have been pleased to consult with their Peers in the great Council, and the Commons in Parliament, of Marriage, Peace, and War." Indeed he appears upon all occasions to have acted upon independent principles, and to have espoused the cause of his country, though he was upon friendly terms with the court, whenever the latter acted contrary to its true interests. But, in his religious opinions, he was a slave to the church hierarchy; and the worst performance he wrote was an "Answer to certain Arguments raised from supposed Antiquity, and urged by some Members of the Lower House of Parliament, to prove that Ecclesiastical Laws ought to be enacted by Temporal Men." In his attempt to refute these notions, he builds, upon antiquity alone, an exclusive right, inherent in the priesthood, to enact ecclesiastical laws.

In the first parliament under Charles I, he was one of the members for Huntingdon, and distinguished himself by joining the party who insisted on an immediate redress of the grievances under

which the nation then laboured ; but he advised mild and prudent measures. He was therefore still confided in by the court, so far as to be consulted, in 1626, concerning a plan proposed to be carried into execution, in order to raise money for the crown. This was to debase the coin ; a scheme which Sir Robert powerfully and successfully opposed in a speech before the privy-council, wherein he represented the dishonour that must ensue to the king, and the damages to the subjects, from such a measure.

Sir Robert Cotton, though he was a friend to the liberties of his country, had rendered very important services to the crown. But this did not prevent his receiving the most cruel and unjust treatment from the court in the reign of Charles the First. In November, 1629, an order was sent from the court for sealing up his library, and bringing himself before the privy-council. The pretence was, that there had been “ found in his
“ custody a pestilent tractate, which he had fostered
“ as his child, and had sent it abroad into divers
“ hands ; containing a project how a prince may
“ make himself an absolute tyrant.” This, it was said, was a “ pernicious diabolical device, to breed
“ suspicious and seditious humours among the
“ people.” The tract in question was intituled,
“ A Proposition for his Majesty’s Service, to bridle
“ the Impertinency of Parliaments :” and it was written in 1613, by Sir Robert Dudley, commonly called earl of Warwick, and duke of Northumberland, who was then in exile at Florence, and who wrote it with a view to ingratiate himself with king James the First, and by that means to prepare the way for his return to his own country. Sir Robert Cotton having a copy of this piece in his library, a person who had the care of it had,
unknown

unknown to Sir Robert, taken several copies, and disposed of them as a curiosity. Besides being brought before the privy-council, a prosecution was set on foot in the Star-chamber against Sir Robert Cotton, and several other gentlemen, who had copies of the piece in their possession. They were confined for some time, but were afterwards set at liberty, upon oath being made by Sir Henry Foulis, that the piece upon which the prosecution was founded was written by Sir Robert Dudley. Sir Robert Cotton, however, was never restored to the use of his library, which was kept locked-up from his use by the authority of government. This unjust and oppressive treatment so affected him, that it shortened his days. The whole affair seems to have been an iniquitous scheme to deprive him of the use of his valuable library, that the books in it might not be employed either by him, or his friends, in support of the rights of the people. He is said to have attributed the treatment he received chiefly to Neile and Laud, two prelates well known for their arbitrary principles. Sir Symonds D'Ewes says, "When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me, they had broken his heart, that had locked up his library from him."

Sir Robert Cotton died at his house in Westminster, May 6, 1631, in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in the south chancel of Connington church. Before he died, he requested Sir Henry Spelman to signify to the lord privy-seal, and the rest of the lords of the council, that their so long detaining his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of his mortal malady.

The literary abilities of Sir Robert Cotton were very great in history, policy, and antiquities; and they

they procured him the correspondence of the most learned foreigners of the age, as well as the friendship of the most eminent of his countrymen. And though he was courted by persons of the first quality in the kingdom, he was neither dogmatic nor arrogant, but sought for, and became the patron of men of genius, however humble in their stations, or depressed by fortune. To these his house and his library were constantly open. This noble disposition first brought him acquainted with John Speed, the British historian, to whom he proved a serviceable friend, assisting him both by advice and by liberal presents.

SPEED was born in Cheshire, in the year 1552, of obscure parents, and brought up to the business of a taylor, which he followed for some time in London, and was a freeman of the company of Merchant-Tailors. The circumstances which induced him to quit his vocation, and apply himself to the study and writing of history, are not transmitted to us, or any other incidents of his life, till the year 1606, the fifty-fourth of his age, when he published his "Theatre of Great Britain." It is most probable, that after this publication he became acquainted with Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Henry Spelman, who all assisted him in his future studies and performances; but Sir Robert Cotton was his particular friend; and it may be easily conjectured, that he encouraged him to throw up his business, for the more honourable profession of an historian.

In 1614, Mr. Speed published, in folio, "The History of Great Britain under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; their Originals, Manners, Wars, Coins, and Seals, with the Successions, Lives, Acts, and Issues of the English Monarchs,

Monarchs, from Julius Cæsar to our Most Gracious Sovereign King James," dedicated to that prince. The Theatre of Great Britain, being a Geographical Description of England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isles adjoining, was designed as a proper introduction to his History, or Chronicle, which is both accurate and copious; and to which is prefixed commendatory Poems in Latin, French, and English, by Sir Henry Spelman, and other eminent men.

Mr. Speed also published a kind of sacred chronology in 1616, intituled, "The Cloud of Witnesses, or the Genealogies of Scripture, confirming the Truth of Holy History and the Humanity of Christ." He died in 1629, and was buried in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where a monument was erected to his memory.

The monument prepared by Sir Robert Cotton, in his life-time, as a durable memorial of himself, was his curious and valuable library; consisting of a fine collection of manuscripts, relating chiefly to the history and antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland. This library was kept in his own house at Westminster, near the house of commons; and it was greatly improved by his only son and heir Sir Thomas Cotton, after he came into possession of it; and his son, Sir John Cotton, considerably enlarged it.

In 1701, the Cottonian library was made the property of the public, by virtue of an act of parliament for the better securing and preserving this library in the name and family of the Cottons, as trustees for the public, that it might not be sold, or otherwise disposed of and embezzled. In the reign of queen Anne, Sir John Cotton, great grandson of the founder, agreed to sell Cotton-house to her majesty, to be a repository for the Royal as well as
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the Cottonian library : upon which an act was made for the better securing her majesty's purchase of that house, and both the house and the library were settled and vested in public trustees. Cotton-house was then set apart for the house of the royal librarian, who took under his care the joint libraries. Some years after, the Cottonian library was removed to a house near Westminster Abbey, purchased by the crown of lord Ashburnham; and here a fire happened on the 23d of October, 1731, when 111 books were lost, burnt, or entirely defaced, and 99 rendered imperfect. It was thereupon removed to the new, and afterwards to the old, Dormitory belonging to Westminster school. There it remained till it was removed, in pursuance of the act of parliament of 1753, for establishing the British Museum, and now makes part of that national repository of antiquities, natural philosophy, and literature.

We have only to add a list of Sir Robert Cotton's works, not mentioned in the course of his memoirs. They are,

1. A Relation of the Proceedings against any Ambassadors who have miscaried themselves and exceeded their Commissions.

2. A Relation to prove, That the Sovereign's Person is required in the great Councils or Assemblies of the States, as well at the Consultations as at the Conclusions.

3. The Argument made by the Command of the House of Commons, out of the Acts of Parliament, and Authority of Law expounding the same, at a Conference with the Lords, concerning the Liberty of the Person of every Freeman.

4. A Brief Discourse concerning the Power of the Peers and Commons of Parliament, in Point of
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Judicature. These four are printed in *Cottoni Post-huma*.

5. A short View of the long Life and Reign of Henry III. King of England, written in 1614, and presented to King James I. He also left some Manuscripts, which may be found in the Catalogue of his Library.

In the collection of curious Discourses, written by eminent antiquaries, are printed nine short Dissertations, by Sir Robert Cotton, on various Subjects relative to English Antiquities.

* * * *Authorities.* Biog. Britan. Birch's Lives. Gen. Biog. Dict.

THE LIFE OF

SIR HENRY SPELMAN.

[A. D. 1561, to 1643.]

THIS celebrated antiquarian, whose indefatigable assiduity and great learning threw a new light on the study of the laws and antiquities of his country, was a descendant from an antient family in the county of Norfolk. He was born at Congham near Lynn, in the year 1561, and before he was fifteen years of age he was sent to Trinity college in Cambridge, where he remained only two years

years and an half, the death of his father obliging him to return home to assist his mother in settling the affairs of the family. As soon as he had completed this business, he entered himself a student of Lincoln's Inn, and applied himself with great diligence to the study of the law, which profession it is probable he intended to have embraced, if fortune had not provided for him in a different manner. In his occasional excursions to his native country, he became acquainted with a lady of distinction, possessed of an ample fortune, who accepted his addresses, and to whom he was married, after he had been near three years at Lincoln's Inn. This change in his affairs determined him to live a retired life in the country; and he now made his studies a chief part of his rural amusements; but he did not confine them to the professional business of the law, but extended them to a general inquiry into the political constitution, laws, and antiquities of England.

In 1604, he was nominated by James I. high sheriff of the county of Norfolk; and the king was now made acquainted with his great talents for affairs of state, so far as respected the internal administration of government; Mr. Spelman having acquired a complete knowledge of all the antient prerogatives of the crown, of the privileges, immunities, and customs of the ecclesiastical and other courts, and of the rights of the subject. His majesty, in consequence of the representations made to him, sent for Mr. Spelman to court in 1607, and appointed him to be one of the commissioners for determining the unsettled and disputed titles to lands and manors in Ireland, which had been thrown into great confusion by the sales and other alienations of estates, occasioned by the rebellions in that kingdom during the late reign. Mr. Spelman

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Spelman acquitted himself so highly to the satisfaction of the king, in three different voyages he made to Ireland by his majesty's command, upon this business, that after it was completed, he made him one of the commissioners to enquire into the oppression of the fees exacted in all the courts and public offices in England, as well ecclesiastical as civil. This business for which Mr. Spelman was so eminently qualified, he pursued with unremitted zeal, and strict impartiality, for several years, to the great detriment of his family, expending in it great part of his fortune, without receiving any recompence from the crown. To account for this it must be observed, that the very nature of the employment created him a number of enemies at court, for it affected the perquisites and emoluments of office, and thereby lessened the incomes of several great officers and their dependants, both in church and state. But the clergy in particular he highly displeased, by publishing a learned treatise, in consequence of the discoveries he made in the execution of his commission, intituled, "*De Sepultura, or of Burial Fees;*" in which he makes it evidently appear, that the greatest part of the fees, exacted by the clergy and ecclesiastical officers for burials, is a gross imposition.

At length however, the king conferred upon our industrious antiquarian the honour of knighthood, and sent him a present of 300*l.* not as a full recompence (so it is expressed in the king's warrant to the treasurer, preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*), but only as an occasional remembrance, till something more equal to his merit could be done for him.

About the year 1612, Sir Henry Spelman removed his family to London, to a house in Barbican; and here he fixed his residence for the remainder of his life, not with any view of making his fortune

fortune at court, but to enjoy the society of his learned contemporaries, and to facilitate the publication of his elaborate works. In 1613, his famous treatise was published, intituled, “*De non temerandis ecclesiis*, Churches not to be violated,” and this increased his reputation considerably.

In 1626, our author published the first part of his well-known glossary in Latin, under the title of *Archæologus*; a work calculated to promote and facilitate the study of English antiquities, by explaining the obscure and obsolete words, terms, and phrases, generally made use of in our old histories and law-books. Sir Henry, in an advertisement prefixed to the work, has assigned his reasons for preferring this title to that of *Glossarium*; “which” says he, “strictly speaking, is no more than a bare explication of words, whereas this not only explains obsolete terms, but treats more especially of things, and contains entire discourses and dissertations upon several heads.” In fact, it is a most valuable treasure of the antient constitution and customs of England. He was encouraged and assisted in this undertaking by some of the most eminent men of the age, to whom he candidly makes his acknowledgements in the preface, particularly to the learned archbishop Usher, bishop Williams, then lord keeper, Mr. Selden, and Sir Robert Cotton.

With the sanction and aid of such friends, Sir Henry Spelman carried on his work, which is in the form of a lexicon, as far as the letter L; and the reason he proceeded no further is supposed to be, that he had discussed the articles *Magna charta* and *Maximum consilium* with a degree of truth and political freedom, which made his friends apprehensive of the consequences, the reign of James I. not being a season to speak freely, either of the prerogative of the king, or the liberty of the subject,
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both which, upon many occasions, would have fallen in his way under the letter M.

The second part was left unfinished by our author; and after his death it came into the hands of his son Sir John Spelman, who had abilities to have finished it, but he was taken off by a fever at a premature age; and after the Restoration, the copy, by what means is not mentioned, passed into the possession of Sir William Dugdale, who printed it at the request of lord Chancellor Hyde, soon after the Restoration. It is generally allowed, that this part is very inferior to the first; and some have charged Sir William Dugdale with alterations and additions of his own; but the learned Dr. Gibson, late bishop of London, in his life of Sir Henry Spelman, assures us, that a great part of the very copy from whence it was printed is in the Bodleian library in Sir Henry's own hand, and exactly agrees with the printed book.

The next work, presented to the publick by Sir Henry, was an edition of the English councils, intitled, "A History of the English Councils." In the prosecution of this work he was particularly encouraged, as he observes in the preface, by the archbishops Abbot, Laud, and Usher. The plan was divided into three parts, and a volume assigned to each division. The first to contain the history of the English councils from the first plantation of Christianity to the accession of William the Conqueror.

The second, from the Norman Conquest to the casting off the Pope's supremacy, and the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII.

The third, the history of the Reformed English church from Henry VIII. to his own time.

The first volume was published in 1639, about two years before his death, with his own annotations

tions upon the more difficult passages. The second volume was published by Sir William Dugdale, in 1664, but with many faults. The third was never executed.

Sir Henry Spelman was a great encourager of learning and of men of letters; and his endeavours to revive the knowledge and study of the old Saxon language ought to be considered as an essential service to students in antient British history and antiquities. He had found the great use of his own knowledge of that tongue in the course of his researches, and lamented the neglect of it both at home and abroad, which was so very general, that he did not then know one man in the world who was perfectly master of it. He therefore instituted a Saxon lectureship in the university of Cambridge, and allowed Mr. Abraham Wheelock, a divine who had a competent knowledge of it, a salary of ten pounds per annum, for reading the lectures. He likewise presented him to the vicarage of Middleton in the county of Norfolk, with the profits of the impropriate rectory of the same church, both of which he intended to have settled in perpetuity as an endowment of the lectureship. But Sir Henry and his eldest son both dying within the course of two years, the civil war ensuing, and the family estate being sequestered, this laudable design proved abortive.

Sir Henry Spelman died at London in 1641, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, near Camden's monument.

In 1698, Mr. Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, collated and published in one volume, Folio, the posthumous works of Sir Henry Spelman, relating to the laws and antiquities of England, under the title of *Reliquiæ Spelmannianæ*. These were dedicated to Dr. Tennison, archbishop of Canterbury,

Canterbury, and were reprinted, together with a new edition of his English works, published in his life-time, by the same editor, in one volume Folio, in the year 1723.

Sir Henry had eight children, four sons and four daughters ; but no particular notice is taken by the writers of his life of any but the eldest son, whom he called the heir of his studies, and the youngest John. The eldest was provided for a little before his father's death by Charles I. who conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and made him master of Sutton hospital, at the request of Sir Henry, to whom the king first offered it. Sir John Spelman enjoyed the king's confidence, and after the civil war broke out was commanded, in a letter written by Charles himself, to attend him at Oxford, where he was one of that unhappy monarch's secret council, and was employed to write papers in vindication of the proceedings of the court. Two of his political tracts are still extant, the one, "A View of a pretended Book, intituled, Observations on his Majesty's late Answers and Epistles ;" Oxford 1642, in 4to ; the other "The Case of our Affairs in Law, Religion, and other Circumstances, briefly examined and presented to the Conscience," Oxford, 1643, in 4to. It does not appear from these pieces that he inherited either the genius or the principles of his father with respect to politics ; but in works of another class he succeeded much better. He published the Saxon Psalter, under the title of *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus*, from an old manuscript in his father's library, which he collated with three other copies. He also wrote the Life of Alfred the Great in English, but did not live to print it. This performance does honour to his literary talents. It was translated into Latin by the care of Obadiah Walker, master of University college, Oxford, and was published by him

with notes and cuts, at Oxford, in 1679, folio. And Mr. Hearne afterwards published it in English from the original copy.

Clement Spelman, the youngest son of Sir Henry, was bred to the law, and rose to be a puisne baron of the Exchequer upon the restoration of Charles II. This gentleman published some tracts relative to government, and a large preface to a new edition of his father's work, *De non temerandis ecclesiis*. He died in 1679.

* * * *Authorities.* Gibson's Life of Sir Henry Spelman, prefixed to the edition of his English works, London, 1723. Wood's Athen. Oxon.

THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM DOBSON,

HISTORY AND PORTRAIT PAINTER.

[A. D. 1610, to 1647.]

WILLIAM DOBSON, an eminent English painter, was born in London, in St. Andrew's parish, Holborn, in the year 1610; and descended from a family at that time very eminent in St. Albans. Who first instructed him in the use of his pencil, is uncertain; but of this we are

are well assured, that he was put out very early an apprentice to one Mr. Peake, a stationer and trader in pictures, with whom he served his time. Nature inclined him very powerfully to the practice of painting after the life; and by his master's procurement he had the advantage of copying many excellent pictures, especially some of Titian and Van Dyck. How much he was beholden to the latter of those two great men may easily be seen in all his works; no painter having ever come up so near to the perfection of that excellent master, as this happy imitator. He was also farther indebted to the generosity of Van Dyck, in presenting him to king Charles I. who took him into his immediate protection, kept him in Oxford all the while his majesty continued in that city, sat several times to him for his picture, and obliged the prince of Wales, prince Rupert, and most of the lords of his court, to do the same. He was a fair, middle-sized man, of a ready wit, and pleasing conversation; was somewhat loose and irregular in his way of living; and, notwithstanding the many opportunities he had of making his fortune, died very poor at his house in St. Martin's Lane, in the year 1647.

It is to be observed of our artist, that as he had the misfortune to want suitable helps in his beginning to apply himself to painting, so he also wanted more encouragement than the unhappy times he flourished in could afford. Nevertheless, he shone out through all disadvantages; and it is universally agreed, that, had his education and encouragement been answerable to his genius, England might justly have been as proud of her Dobson, as Venice of her Titian, or Flanders of her Van Dyck. He was both a history and portrait painter;

painter; and there are in the collections of the curious several of his pictures of both kinds.

* * *Authorities.* Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England. Gen. Biog. Dictionary.

THE LIFE OF
INIGO JONES.

[A. D. 1572, to 1651.]

THIS celebrated architect was born about the year 1572, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, London, of which city his father, Mr. Ignatius Jones, was a citizen, and by trade a cloth-worker. At a proper age, it is said, he put his son apprentice to a joiner, a business that requires some skill in drawing, and in that respect suited well with our architect's inclination, which naturally led him to the art of designing. Genius concurred with inclination: he distinguished himself early by the extraordinary progress he made in those polite and useful arts, and was particularly taken notice of for his skill in the practice of landscape painting. These talents recommended him to the favour of that great patron of all liberal sciences William earl of Pembroke, at whose expence he travelled over Italy
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and the politer parts of Europe; saw whatever stood recommended by its antiquity or value, and from these plans formed his own observations, which, upon his return home, he perfected by study and application.

But before that, the improvements he made abroad gave such an eclat to his reputation all over Europe, that Christian IV. king of Denmark sent for him from Venice, which was the chief place of his residence, and made him his architect-general. He had been some time possessed of this honourable post, when that prince, whose sister Anne had married king James I. made a visit to England. This was in 1606, and our architect being desirous to return to his native country, took that opportunity of coming home, in the train of his Danish majesty. The magnificence of king James's reign, in dress, buildings, &c. is the common theme of all the English historians. This last furnished Mr. Jones with an opportunity of exercising his talents, and the display of those talents proved an honour to his country. The queen appointed him architect presently after his arrival; and, not long after, he was taken, in the same character, into the service of prince Henry, under whom he discharged his trust with so much fidelity and judgement, that the king gave him the reversion of the place of surveyor-general of his majesty's works.

In the interim, his master prince Henry dying in 1612, he made a second visit to Italy, and continued some years there, improving himself farther in his favourite art, till the surveyor's place fell to him. On his entrance upon it, he shewed an uncommon degree of generosity. The office of his majesty's works having, through extraordinary occasions, in the time of his predecessor, contracted a great debt to the amount of several thousand

pounds; the privy-council sent for the surveyor, to give his opinion what course might be taken to ease his majesty of it, the exchequer being empty, and the workmen clamorous. Mr. Jones, considering well the exigency, not only voluntarily offered to serve without receiving one penny of the profits of his office, until the debt was fully discharged, but also persuaded his fellow-officers, the comptroller and paymaster, to do the like, by which means the whole arrears were absolutely cleared.

The king, in his progress in 1620, calling at Wilton, the seat of the earl of Pembroke, among other subjects, fell into a discourse about that surprising group of stones, called Stonehenge, upon Salisbury plain, near Wilton. Hereupon our architect, who was well known to have searched into antique buildings and ruins abroad, was sent for by lord Pembroke, and there received his majesty's commands to produce, out of his own practice and experience in antiquities abroad, what possibly he could discover concerning this of Stonehenge. In obedience to this command, he presently set about the work; and having, with no little pains and expence, taken an exact measurement of the whole, and diligently searched the foundation, in order to find out the original form and aspect, he proceeded to compare it with other antique buildings which he had any where seen; and, after much reasoning and a long series of authorities, he concluded, that this ancient and stupendous pile must have been originally a Roman temple, dedicated to Coelus, the senior of the heathen gods, and built after the Tuscan order; that it was built when the Romans flourished in peace and prosperity in Britain, and, probably, betwixt the time of Agricola's government and the reign of Constantine

Constantine the Great. This account he presented to his royal master in 1620; and on the 16th of November, the same year, he was appointed one of the commissioners for repairing St. Paul's cathedral in London.

Upon the death of king James, he was continued in his post by king Charles I. whose consort entertained him likewise in the same station. He had drawn the designs for the palace of Whitehall in his former master's time, and that part of it, the banqueting-house, was now carried into execution. It was first designed for the reception of foreign ambassadors; and the cieling was painted, some years after, by the famous Rubens, with the felicities of king James's reign. Prints from it, by Simon Gribelin, were published in 1724. The late lord Burlington published, in 1740, a north-west view of the palace, where this pavilion appears in its proper place, as part of that palace, in which there is seen a noble circular portico, whereof the first hint, Dr. Stukely thinks, might probably be suggested by the circular portico at Stonehenge.

In June, 1633, an order was issued out, requiring him to set about the reparation of St. Paul's; and the work was begun soon after at the east end, the first stone being laid by Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, and the fourth by Mr. Jones. In reality, as he was the sole architect, so the conduct, design, and execution of the work were intrusted intirely to him; and having reduced the body of it into order and uniformity, from the steeple to the west end, added there a magnificent portico, which raised the envy of all Christendom on his country, for a piece of architecture not to be paralleled in modern times. The whole was built at the expence of king Charles, who adorned it also with statues of his royal father and himself. The portico con-

fisted of solid walls on each side, with rows of Corinthian pillars set within, at a distance from the walls to support the roof; being intended to be an ambulatory for such as usually before, by walking in the body of the church, disturbed the choir service.

While he was raising these noble monuments of his fame as an architect, he gave no less proofs of his genius in the fancy and judgement of the pompous machinery employed in masques and interludes, which entertainments were the vogue in his time. Several of these representations are still extant in the works of Chapman, Davenant, Daniel, and particularly Ben Jonson. The subject was chosen by the poet, and the speeches and songs were also of his composing; but the invention of the scenes, ornaments, and dresses of the figures, was the contrivance of Mr. Jones; and herein he acted in concert and good harmony with Father Ben for a while; but, about the year 1614, there happened a quarrel between them, which provoked Jonson to ridicule his associate under the character of Lanther Leatherhead, a hobby-horse-feller, in his comedy of Bartholomew-fair. And the rupture seems not to have ended but with Jonson's death: a very few years before which, in 1635, he wrote a most virulent coarse satire, which he called, "An Expostulation with Inigo Jones;" and, afterwards, "An Epigram to a Friend;" and also a third, inscribed to "Inigo, Marquis Would-be."

His rough treatment of Jones was not approved of at court, as we learn from the following passage in a letter from James Howell to Jonson. "I heard you censured lately at court, (says he) that you have lighted too foul upon Sir Inigo, and that you write with a porcupine's quill dipped in too much gall. Excuse me that I am so free with you; it is because

because I am yours in no common way of friendship." But Jonson not attending properly to his friend's hint, Howel wrote him the following letter upon the same subject :

" Father Ben,

" The fangs of a bear, and the tusks of a wild boar, do not bite worse, and make a deeper gash, than a goose-quill sometimes ; no, not the badger himself, who is said to be so tenacious of his bite, that he will not give over his hold, till he feels his teeth meet, and his bones crack. Your quill hath proved so to Mr. Inigo Jones ; but the pen wherewith you have so gashed him, it seems, was made rather of a porcupine than a goose-quill, it is so keen and firm.

" *Anser, apes, vitulus, populos et regna gubernant.*

" The goose, the bee, and the calf, (meaning wax, parchment, and pen,) rule the world ;" but of the three, the pen is most predominant. I know you have a commanding one, but you must not let it tyrannize in the manner you have done lately. Some give out there was a hair in it, or that your ink was too thick with gall, else it would not have so bespattered and shaken the reputation of a royal architect : for reputation, you know, is like a fair structure, long a rearing, but quickly ruined. If your spirit will not let you retract, yet you should do well to repress any more copies of the satire : for to deal plainly with you, you have lost some ground at court by it ; and, as I hear from a good hand, the king, who hath so great a judgement in poetry (as in all other things else), is not pleased therewith. Dispense with this freedom of

" Your respectful son and servitor,

Westminster,

3 July, 1635.

" J. H."

Jonson

Jonson at length paid so much attention to his friend Howell's advice, that he entirely suppressed the satire against Inigo above referred to. However, it has been since printed from a manuscript of the late Mr. Vertue, the engraver, and is inserted in the edition of Ben Jonson's works, published in 1756.

It appears that our architect had made some attempts in the poetical way, either in the business of masques, or otherwise. This intrusion into the poet's province raised Ben's spleen, and it has been supposed that this was the real cause of the quarrel between him and Inigo. For in the beginning of the quarrel, one principal stroke of ridicule bestowed upon Lantern in Bartholomew-fair (the character under which Jones is satirized) consists in the title there given him of "Parcel Poet." In the mean time, Mr. Jones received great encouragement from the court, so that he acquired a handsome fortune. But it was much impaired by the losses which he suffered in consequence of his loyalty; for as he had a share in his royal master's prosperity, so had he a share also in his misfortunes. Upon the meeting of the long parliament in November, 1640, he was called before the house of peers, on a complaint exhibited against him by the parishioners of St. Gregory's in London for damages done to that church, in repairing St. Paul's cathedral. The church being old, and standing very near the cathedral, was thought to be a blemish to it, and therefore was taken down, pursuant to the king's direction and orders of the council, in 1639, in the execution of which our surveyor was chiefly concerned. But, in answer to the complaint, he pleaded the general issue; and, when the repairing of the cathedral ceased, in 1642, some part of the materials

rials remaining were, by order of the house of lords, delivered to the parishioners of St. Gregory's towards the rebuilding of their church. This prosecution put Inigo to a considerable expence; and as he was both a royalist and a Roman catholic, in 1646 he paid 545^l. for his delinquency and sequestration. And Mr. Walpole informs us, that he, and Stone the statuary and architect, buried their joint stock of ready money in Scotland-yard; but an order being published to encourage the informers of such concealments, and four persons being privy to the spot where the money was hid, it was taken up, and re-buried in Lambeth marsh.

Upon the restoration of Charles II. he was continued in his post by that monarch. But it was only an empty title at that time, nor did Jones live long enough to make it any better. Grief, misfortunes, and age, put an end to his life at Somerset-house, on the 21st of July, 1651; and on the 26th of the same month he was buried in the church of St. Bennet's Paul's-wharf, where a monument was erected to his memory, which was destroyed in the fire of London.

Inigo Jones was not only the greatest architect in England, but the most eminent in his profession at that time in Europe. He is generally styled the British Vitruvius; and Mr. Webb, who knew him well, asserts that his abilities, in all human sciences, surpassed most of his age. He was a great master of the mathematics, and particularly an excellent geometrician. He had some insight into the two learned languages, Greek and Latin, especially the latter. And Sir Anthony Vandyke used to say of him, that, in designing with his pen, he was not to be equalled by any great masters of his time, for the boldness, softness, sweetness, and fire of his

his touches. Among the works of this great master are the following :

1. The Banqueting-house, Whitehall, already mentioned.

2. Barber's-hall, in Monkwell-street, London. This was a very fine edifice, and the theatre was particularly admired, as an admirable fabrick for seeing and hearing. It was erected for the use of the surgeons, and here dissections used to be performed, and lectures read. But when the barbers and surgeons, who used to be united in one company, were formed into distinct and separate companies, this hall was given by act of parliament to the barbers ; and the theatre has lately been pulled down.

3. The new buildings, fronting the gardens, at Somerset-house.

4. The church and piazza of Covent-garden. These have been much admired by the connoisseurs in architecture ; and in particular it has been said of the church, that it is one of the most simple, and, at the same time, most perfect pieces of architecture, that the art of man can produce. The ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole is, however, of a different opinion. He says, " The arcade of Covent-garden and the church, are two structures of which I want taste to see the beauties. In the arcade there is nothing remarkable ; the pilasters are as errant and homely stripes as any plasterer would make. And the barn-roof over the portico of the church strikes my eyes with as little idea of dignity or beauty, as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn."

5. Lincoln's-inn-fields. This fine square was originally laid out by the masterly hand of Inigo ; and it is said, that the sides of it are the exact measure of the great pyramid of Egypt. It was intended to have been built all in the same style ; but there
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were not a sufficient number of people of taste to accomplish so great a work. The house which was late the duke of Ancafter's is built on this model; but elevated and improved so as to make it more suitable to the quality of the owner. It has that simple grandeur which characterises all the designs of this great architect.

6. Shaftesbury-house, late the lying-in-hospital in Aldersgate-street.

7. The garden front of Wilton-house, the seat of the earl of Pembroke; and also some other parts of that noble edifice,

8. The Queen's house at Greenwich.

9. The Grange in Hampshire, the seat of the earl of Northington.

10. Pishiobury, in Hertfordshire.

11. Gunnersbury, near Brentford, lately the seat of the princess Amelia.

* * * *Authorities.* Gen. Biog. Dict. and British Biography, 8vo. vol. IV. 1768.

THE LIFE OF
DR. JAMES USHER,
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

[A. D. 1580, to 1655.]

THE supplement to this volume cannot be closed with greater propriety than by the addition of another learned man, who greatly contributed to the revival of a taste for the study of history and antiquities, which, owing to the genius of the illustrious few whose lives are here given, and of Sir James Ware, a friend and countryman of archbishop Usher, whose life will be found in the next volume, was carried to a greater degree of perfection in this kingdom than at any æra preceding their time.

JAMES USHER was descended from the ancient family of the Nevils, whose ancestor went over from England to Ireland in quality of gentleman-usher to king John, and there changed his family-name to that of his office, which his descendants from that time retained; and they branched out into several families of repute in and near Dublin, and for ages enjoyed considerable offices in that city.

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His father was Mr. Arnold Usher, one of the six clerks in the court of chancery in Dublin, a gentleman highly esteemed for his integrity and good conduct. His mother was the daughter of James Stainihurst, esq; recorder of Dublin, one of the masters in chancery, and speaker of the Irish house of commons in three parliaments in the reign of Elizabeth, in the last of which he distinguished himself by proposing the plan of founding and endowing the college and university of Dublin, which was soon after consented to by her majesty, and, being perfected, hath ever since continued to be a celebrated seminary for learning and good manners.

He was born at Dublin in 1580, and from early infancy discovered a strong passion for books, and a most singular circumstance attended the first effort he made to attain literary knowledge. He was taught to read English, that is, to pronounce it rightly, by two aunts, who were both blind from their cradle, but having very retentive memories, and what is called a good ear for sounds, by frequently repeating to him, they accomplished their point; but we must suppose that he was first taught the alphabet by some other person.

The next advance he made towards a liberal education was attended with circumstances as remarkable as the first.

Two gentlemen of Scotland, eminent for their learning and distinguished by their rank in life, but whose business and quality were then unknown, came to Dublin in 1588, being sent thither by James I. (then king of Scotland) to keep a correspondence with the English Protestant nobility and gentry about Dublin, in order to secure his interest in that kingdom, against the death of queen Elizabeth. These, for a colour, undertook the em-

ployment of schoolmasters to instruct and discipline youth in learning and good education ; for the want of such was very great there at that time. The one was James Fullerton, afterwards knighted, and made one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to king James ; the other was James Hamilton, afterwards created viscount Clandebois. To their instruction and tuition young Usher was committed by his parents ; and he made so great a proficiency, that he became the best scholar of the school for Latin, poetry, and rhetoric, in the space of five years.

In the year 1593, Trinity-college in Dublin was finished, and Usher, then in the thirteenth year of his age, being adjudged by his schoolmasters sufficiently qualified for admittance into that seminary, was entered accordingly : Dr. Loftus (sometime fellow of Trinity-college in Cambridge) afterwards archbishop of Dublin, being first provost of that college, and Mr Hamilton, one of Usher's schoolmasters, senior fellow, and his tutor. Usher's name (as the first scholar there) stands to this day in the first line of the register, with a presage annexed, that he might prove an honour and ornament to that college and nation, as he afterwards did.

Here he applied very diligently to the study of the languages and the liberal arts ; but his chief delight was in ecclesiastical history and antiquities, in all which he improved to admiration ; for between fifteen and sixteen years of age he had made such proficiency in chronology, that he had drawn up, in Latin, an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as the Book of Kings, not much differing from the method of his Annals.

The earl of Essex arriving in 1598, in quality of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and chancellor of the

university of Dublin, there was a solemn act for his entertainment. Mr. Usher, being then Bachelor of Arts, held the part of respondent in the philosophy-act with great approbation. But while he was busily employing himself in these studies and great designs, to qualify himself for the sacred functions of the ministry, his father recommended to him the study of the common law (designing to send him shortly over to the inns of court in England); but to this the son was very averse, it no ways suiting with his natural temper and complexion; yet dutifully would he have submitted, if his father could not be brought to alter his mind in that matter. Accordingly he had resolved to submit, when his father's death, which happened soon after, left him at liberty to pursue his own inclinations; and the paternal estate descended to him, which was of considerable value. But this young heir was so far from being transported by such an accession of fortune, that it did not in the least shake him from his design; for finding it somewhat incumbered with law-suits, and sisters portions, and fearing those might prove a hindrance to the course of his studies, he chose rather to commit himself to the providence of God, and so very frankly gave his inheritance to his brother and his several sisters, for their portions; only reserving so much of it as might enable him to buy some books, and afford him a competent maintenance in the college.

Not long after this event, he was thought the fittest person to enter the lists of disputation with a daring and learned Jesuit, one Henry Fitz Symonds, then prisoner in the castle of Dublin, who sent out a challenge, defying the greatest champion, and best learned, to dispute with him about the points in controversy between the Romish and Reformed Churches. Mr. Usher accepted the challenge, and
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accordingly they met. The Jesuit despised him at first on account of his youth, considering him only as a boy ; but, after one or two public disputations, he was so sensible of the quickness of his wit, the strength of his arguments, and his skill in disputation, that he declined all farther contest with him.

In 1600, Mr. Usher took the degree of Master of Arts ; and the same year he was chosen catechist-reader in the college. And being not long after appointed to preach constantly before the great officers of state, at Christ-church in Dublin, on Sundays in the afternoon, he made it his business to treat of the chief points of controversy between the Romish Church, and ours ; in which discourses he was so clear, powerful, and convincing, that he thereby settled many that were wavering, and converted divers from the superstitions of Popery to the Church of England. Neither must it be forgotten, that after the English forces had beaten and driven out the Spaniards in 1603, who then came to the assistance of the Irish rebels at Kinsale, the English officers resolved to do some worthy act that might be a lasting memorial of the gallantry of military men, and of their regard for religion and learning. To promote which, they raised among themselves, out of the arrears of their pay, the sum of one thousand eight hundred pounds, to buy books to furnish the library of the university of Dublin. This sum they paid into the hands of Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Usher, to procure such books as they should judge most necessary for the library, and most useful for the advancement of learning ; which they accordingly undertook, and went to England for that purpose ; where, and from foreign parts, they procured the best books in every science then to be had.

It is somewhat remarkable, that at the time when they were at London about laying out this money in books, they met Sir Thomas Bodley there, also purchasing books for his new-erected library at Oxford; which laid the foundation of an intimacy between Mr. Usher and Sir Thomas, and they proved useful to each other upon this and subsequent occasions. Thus we see that the famous Bodleian library at Oxford, and that of Dublin, began together. About this time, the chancellorship of St. Patrick, Dublin, being vacant, he was promoted to this dignity, which was the first ecclesiastical preferment he had, and which he retained without seeking any other benefice. He lived upon it for some years, and kept hospitality proportionable to his income; nor cared he for any overplus at the year's end (for indeed he was never a hoarder of money), but for books and learning he had a kind of laudable covetousness, and never thought a good book (either manuscript or printed) too dear.

In 1606, he went a second time to England, to purchase books and manuscripts; and then became acquainted with the celebrated Camden, who was at that time deeply engaged in finishing a new edition of his Britannia; and he took this opportunity to consult Mr. Usher upon several articles relative to the ancient state of Ireland, and of the city of Dublin; on which subjects Usher, after his return to Ireland, wrote such curious satisfactory letters to Mr. Camden, that he incorporated most of them into his work, with this polite and grateful acknowledgment, "Thus much I have to observe of Dublin; for the greatest part of which I must confess myself indebted to the diligence and learning of James Usher, chancellor of St. Patrick's, whose variety of learning, and soundness of judgment, infinitely surpass his years."

In the year 1607, being the twenty-seventh of his age, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and soon after he was chosen divinity-professor in the university of Dublin: and about this time there being a great dispute respecting the Herenach, Termon, and Corban lands, which anciently belonged to the Chorepiscopi, or body of bishops of England and Ireland; Mr. Usher wrote a learned treatise upon the subject, which was so highly approved, that it was sent to archbishop Bancroft, and by him presented to king James. The substance of it was afterwards translated by Sir Henry Spelman into Latin, and published in the first part of his Glossary, as himself acknowledges, giving him there this character, "*Literarum insignis Pharos.*" This treatise is still in manuscript at the archbishop's library at Lambeth.

This year also he made a third voyage to England, to buy books, and to converse with learned men; and was now first taken notice of at court, preaching before the household, which was a great honour in those days: and, whilst here, he made it his business to study antiquity; for which purpose he enquired after, and consulted, the best manuscripts of both universities, and all libraries, both public and private; and from this time he made it a practice to visit England once in three years; passing one month of the summer season at Oxford, another at Cambridge, and the rest at London, chiefly in the Cottonian library, Sir Robert Cotton having cultivated a close friendship with him.

About the beginning of the year 1610, he was unanimously chosen, by the fellows of Trinity-college, Dublin, to the provostship of that house; but he refused it, fearing it might prove a hindrance to his studies.

In 1612, he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, to which he was admitted by Dr. Hampton, then archbishop of Armagh; and he made two prelections upon this occasion; one on the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, and the other on the Millenium of the Apocalypse.

The next year, being at London, he published his treatise, "*De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu, &c.*" which was highly approved by his learned friends Isaac Casaubon and Abraham Schulter, who prefixed encomiastic verses to the work in Greek and Latin; and, being dedicated to king James, it was solemnly presented to him by archbishop Abbot, as the eminent first-fruits of the college of Dublin. It is imperfect for about three hundred years, from Gregory XI. to Leo X. i. e. from 1371 to 1513, and from thence to this last century; which he intended to have added, had God afforded him a longer life.

Soon after his return to Ireland, he married Phœbe, only daughter of Luke Challoner, Doctor of Divinity, of the ancient family of the Challoners, in Yorkshire, who had been a great assistant and benefactor to the late erected college at Dublin, having been appointed overseer of the building, and treasurer.

He was a learned and pious man, and had such a friendship for Dr. Usher, that he courted his alliance, and intended, had he lived, to have given him this his only daughter, with a considerable estate in land and money. But dying before he could see the marriage concluded, he charged her, upon his death bed, that, if Dr. Usher would marry her, she should think of no other person for a husband; which command of her dying father she punctually obeyed, and was accordingly married to him soon after her father's death.

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In 1615, a parliament being held at Dublin, a convocation of the clergy was also assembled, wherein the articles of the Church of Ireland were drawn up by Dr. Usher, at the request of the other members of the convocation who signed them, and they were published. The turn of some of these articles incurred him the censure of favouring Puritanism, and this reached the ears of the king; but Usher, in his next customary visits to his friends in England, carried over recommendatory letters from the privy-council of Ireland to that of England, by means of which he obtained private audiences of the king, who was so thoroughly satisfied with his religious principles, that in 1620 he promoted him to the bishopric of Meath, in Ireland, being then void, with this expression, "that Dr. Usher was a bishop of his own making."

The bishop of Meath being at Dublin in 1622, was desired by the administration to make an admonitory oration in the state-chamber in the castle to certain officers who were to be censured for scrupling to take the oaths of supremacy. His speech upon this occasion being transmitted to the king, he was so highly pleased with it, that he wrote him a letter of thanks for it.

After the bishop had been in Ireland about two years, king James testified his approbation of his design of employing himself in writing the antiquities of the British churches; and, that he might have the better opportunity and means for that end, he sent over a letter to the lord-deputy and council of Ireland, commanding them to grant a licence for his being absent from his see. Upon which summons the bishop came to England, and spent about a year in consulting the best manuscripts in both universities and private libraries,
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in order to procure materials for his intended work.

Soon after his return to Ireland, he was for some time engaged in answering the bold challenge of Malone, an Irish Jesuit, of the college of Lorrain.

The bishop was in England again just before the death of king James ; and the archbishoprick of Armagh becoming vacant by the death of Dr. Hampton, the late archbishop, the king was pleased to nominate him, though there were divers competitors, as the fittest person for that great charge and high dignity of the church ; and, not long after, he was elected archbishop by the dean and chapter.

The last testimony he received of his majesty's favour, was his letter to a person of quality in Ireland, who had newly obtained the custody of the temporalities of that see, forbidding him to meddle with, or receive, any of the rents, or profits, of the same ; but immediately to deliver what he had already received unto the receivers of the present archbishop, since he was here employed in his majesty's special service.

Dr. Uther, upon this promotion, received congratulatory letters from lord viscount Falkland, lord deputy of Ireland, from all the great officers of state, and from the bench of bishops of that kingdom, expressing their joy upon his nomination to the primacy ; but he did not return to his native country till 1626, having been detained in England nine months by a quartan ague.

In the administration of the archbishoprick, he acted, as he had done in every other station, in a most exemplary manner. He admonished, exhorted, and reformed the inferior clergy ; but he vigorously opposed the design of granting more toleration

leration to Irish Papists ; for, on the subject of toleration, this great man was not sufficiently enlightened. A general assembly of the whole nation, both Papists and Protestants, was called by the then lord-deputy Falkland upon this subject.

The meeting was in the hall of the castle of Dublin. The bishops, by the lord-primate's invitation, met first at his house ; and both he and they then unanimously drew up and subscribed a protestation against the toleration of Popery. The judgement of the bishops prevailed so much with the Protestants, that the proposals of the Roman Catholics, to provide, at their expence, a standing army for the defence of the kingdom, against its foreign and domestic enemies, upon certain conditions of toleration, were rejected.

The archbishop was now enabled more amply to gratify his ruling passion, the love of antiquity. He laid aside, every year, a considerable sum for the purchase of valuable books and manuscripts ; and, amongst others, by the means of Mr. Thomas Davis, then a merchant at Aleppo, he procured one of the first Samaritan Pentateuchs that ever was brought into these western parts of Europe (as Mr. Selden and Dr. Walton acknowledge), as also the Old Testament in Syriac, much more perfect than had hitherto been seen in these parts. This Pentateuch, with the rest, were borrowed from him by Dr. Walton, afterwards bishop of Chester, and by him made use of in the Polyglot Bible ; all which manuscripts, being afterwards retrieved out of the hands of the said bishop's executors, are now in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

In 1631, the lord-primate published at Dublin, " The History of Goteschalcus, and of the Predestinarian Controversy," being the first Latin book

book that was ever printed in Ireland. And in 1632 he also published there a collection of ancient letters, under the title of "*Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis, vel rebus Hibernicis sunt conscriptæ.*" Commencing about the year 592, and ending about 1180, containing divers curious matters, relating to the ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction of the Church of Ireland in those times.

Upon the meeting of the parliament of Ireland in 1634, a dispute arose between the primate and the archbishop of Dublin, concerning precedence; but Usher asserted his right so clearly, that the point was determined in his favour.

In 1640, the archbishop came to England with his family on his private affairs, and intended to have returned again very soon to Ireland; but from this time he never saw his native country. Charles I. had shewn him marks of his esteem and favour upon his accession; for he had granted him an order on the treasury of Ireland for 400 l. upon his return home soon after that event; and he had continued to place great confidence in him; and the archbishop, on his part, having shewn, upon many occasions, a sincere attachment to the king, it is no wonder a man of his abilities should be detained at the English court, at a time when his majesty's affairs began to wear so gloomy an aspect.

The first instance, however, of his being known to interfere in the public councils of England, was in the contest between his majesty and the two houses of parliament, concerning his passing the bill for the earl of Strafford's attainder. The king, being much perplexed and divided between the clamours of a discontented people and an unsatisfied

satisfied conscience, thought fit to advise with some of his bishops what they thought he ought to do in point of conscience (as he had before consulted his judges in matter of law), among which his majesty thought fit to make choice of the lord-primate for one, though without his seeking or knowledge; but since some men, either out of spleen, or because they would not retract from what they had once written from vulgar report, have thought fit to publish, as if the lord-primate should advise the king to sign the bill for the said earl's attainder, it will not be amiss to insert the relation of this matter which Dr. Bernard had under his own hand, and has printed in his funeral sermon.

“ That Sunday morning wherein the king consulted with the four bishops (of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle), the archbishop of Armagh was not present, being preaching (as he then accustomed himself every Sunday to do) in the church of Covent-garden; where a message coming unto him from his majesty, he descended from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, ‘ he was then (as he saw) employed about God’s business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the king, to understand his pleasure.’ But the king spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the lord Strafford’s case with the lords of his council and the judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted to his majesty’s presence. There the question was again agitated, “ Whether the king, in justice, might pass the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford (for that he might shew mercy to him was no question at all), no man doubting but that the king, without the least scruple of conscience, might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons

reasons of state (in which the bishops were made neither judges, nor advisers) did not hinder him.

The whole result therefore of the determination of the bishops was to this effect: that therein the matter of fact, and matter of law, were to be distinguished: that of the matter of fact, he himself might make a judgement, having been present at all proceedings against the said earl; where, if upon hearing the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes wherewith he was charged, he could not, in justice, condemn him; but for the matter in law, what was treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the judges, whose office it was to declare the law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his subjects: which gave his majesty occasion to complain of the dealing of the judges with him not long before: that having earnestly pressed them to declare, in particular, what part of the lord of Strafford's charge they judged to be treasonable (forasmuch as, upon the hearing of the proof produced, he might, in his conscience, perhaps, find him guiltless of that fact), he could not by any means draw them to nominate any in particular, but that upon the whole matter treason might justly be charged upon him. And in this second meeting, it was observed, that the bishop of London did not speak; but the bishop of Lincoln not only spake, but put a writing into the king's hand, wherein what was contained the rest of his brethren knew not."

Not many months after the execution of the earl of Strafford, news of the breaking-out of the horrid Irish rebellion arrived, and that the rebels had plundered the archbishop's house in the country, seized on his rents, quite ruined or destroyed his tenements, killed or drove away his numerous
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flocks and herds of cattle, to very great value; and, in a word, had not left him any thing in that kingdom, which escaped their fury, but his library, and some furniture in his house at Drogheda, which were secured by the strength of that place, notwithstanding a long and dangerous siege by those rebels; which library was some years after conveyed over to Chester, and from thence to London. This reduced him to a very low condition, happening soon after Michaelmas, when he expected a return of his rents; so that he was forced, for his present supply, to sell or pawn all the plate and jewels he had. This, though a very great trial, yet made not any change in his temper, he still submitting to Providence with Christian patience. Yet these afflictions were sufficient to move compassion, even in the breasts of foreigners; for, some months after his losses, the city and university of Leyden offered to chuse him their honorary professor, with a more ample stipend than had been formerly annexed to that place; and Dr. Bernard, in his above-cited sermon, likewise tells us, that cardinal Richelieu did about the same time make him an invitation to come into France, with a promise of a very noble pension, and freedom of his religion there. And that this is not unlikely may be proved from the great respect that cardinal had for him, which he expressed in a letter to him, accompanied with a gold medal of considerable value, having his own effigies stamped upon it, which is still preserved. These were sent him upon his publishing his work. “*De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum.*” But it pleased his majesty to provide for him much better in England, by conferring on him the bishoprick of Carlisle (then void by the death of Dr. Potter) to hold in commendam. This, though very much reduced in its value by the
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Scotch and English armies quartering upon it, as also by the unhappy wars which not long after followed, he made shift to subsist upon, with some other helps, until the long parliament seized upon all bishops lands. But in consideration of his great losses in Ireland, as also of his own merits, and to make him some satisfaction for what they took away, they voted him a pension of four hundred pounds per annum; and, after their dissolution, Dr. Bernard assures us, that Oliver Cromwell made him a competent allowance for his subsistence, with which he was contented, which he says he received for the archbishop to the last, besides other very considerable sums extraordinary.

But we must now return from this digression, and pursue our worthy prelate through the remaining scenes of his valuable life. Upon the king's marching to Oxford in October, 1642, archbishop Usher obtained leave of the parliament to retire to the same city; and the reverend Dr. Prideaux, bishop of Worcester (his good friend) lent him his house adjoining to Exeter-college, which he accepted of, as being near his business at the public library, where he now pursued his studies, preparing divers treatises for the public view, some of which he also printed there; nor did he less endeavour to be serviceable to men's souls, than to the commonwealth of learning, preaching commonly at one church or other every Sunday, and for great part of the time in the forenoons, sometimes at St. Olave's, and sometimes at Alhallow's, where he had constantly a crowded audience, both of scholars and other persons.

In 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, which met at Westminster. to settle the religion of the state; in which the famous catechism now in use by some of the Protestant Dis-

senters, and divers articles of religion, were made. He refused to sit among them; and this, together with some of his sermons preached at Oxford, giving offence to the parliament, they ordered his library to be seized. It was seized accordingly, and would have been sold by them, had not Dr. Featly, who sat among those divines, while his heart was with the king and the Church of England, obtained it by means of Mr. Selden as for his own use, but in reality to restore it to the archbishop.

In 1645, it being strongly rumoured that Oxford would be besieged by the parliament forces, the archbishop left that city, and retired to Cardiff in Wales, to the seat of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, who had married his only daughter, and was then governor and general of the ordnance, under the lord Gerard, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in South Wales.

Here he remained about six months, free from the dangers of war, this being a strong garrison, and well-manned, which invited many persons of quality to come thither for safety; so that the lord-primate had a good opportunity to pursue his studies, having brought many chests of books along with him; and he now made a great progress in the first part of his Sacred Annals.

At length, the king's army being so reduced as not to permit him to leave many men in garrisons, he was forced to unfurnish this, as well as others, of its soldiers and ammunition; so that Sir Timothy Tyrrel was forced to quit his post; and the archbishop then accepted an invitation from the lady dowager Stradling to come to her castle of St. Donates.

In his journey thither he was extremely ill-used by the Welch rabble, who were up in arms in the

mountains, and took away his books and papers. But after his arrival at St. Donates, the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood, by ordering public notice to be given in the churches, and at the market-places, that all persons possessed of books or papers should bring them to their ministers or landlords, for which they should be gratified, in about three months he recovered most of them.

While the archbishop was at St. Donates, he spent his time chiefly in looking over the books and manuscripts in the library in that castle, which had been collected by Sir Edward Stradling, a great antiquary, and friend of Mr. Camden's; and out of these manuscripts he made many choice collections of British or Welch antiquity. But he was prevented making all the use he intended of this fine library by a sharp and dangerous illness, which began at first with a strangury and suppression of urine, with extremity of torture, and it caused a violent bleeding at the nose for near forty hours together, without any considerable intermission. No means applied could stop it, so that the physicians, and all about him, despaired of his life, till at last (they apprehending he was expiring) it stopped of itself, and he recovered by degrees.

In 1646, he actually designed to go abroad; and had procured passes for that purpose; but vice-admiral Molton, who commanded at sea for the parliament, declaring that if he came in his way he would secure him and deliver him up to the parliament, this detained him, till he received a pressing invitation from the countess dowager of Peterborough to come and make his abode with her, and she would engage that he should not be molested, but have all accommodations suitable to his

condition, and the great affection and esteem she had for him, as a return for those benefits she had formerly received from him, in converting her lord, and securing herself from Popery. After some deliberation he thought fit to accept this kind offer; and having obtained passes for his journey, he left St. Donates, after almost a year's residence there. But it must not be forgotten, that, before he left Wales, the great expences of his sickness, and removals in the year past, had much reduced him as to his purse, nor knew he where to get it supplied; when it pleased God to put it into the hearts of divers worthy persons of that country, to consider that the lord-primate had not only suffered much by the rudeness of the rabble (as hath been already related), but also by a long and expensive sickness: so that they sent him, unknown to each other, divers considerable sums, by which means he had, in a few weeks, enough to supply all his present occasions, and also to defray the expences of his journey to England. This the pious prelate accounted a special providence, and was very thankful for it.

Being arrived safe at the countess of Peterborough's house in London, where he was most kindly received by her, he now met with a fresh disturbance. There was an order of parliament, that whosoever should come from any of the king's garrisons to London, must signify their names to the committee at Goldsmiths-hall, and there give notice of their being in town, and where they lodged. Accordingly he sent to Goldsmiths-hall to acquaint them that he was in town, and at the countess of Peterborough's house, but they refused to take notice of his being in town, without his personal appearance; so, upon a summons sent from the committee of examinations at Westminster,

minster, he appeared before them, when they strictly examined him, where he had been ever since his departure from London, and whether he had any leave for his going from London to Oxford. He answered, "he had a pass from a committee of both houses." They demanded farther, "whether Sir Charles Coote, or any other, ever desired him to use his power with the king, for a toleration of religion in Ireland?" He answered, "that neither Sir Charles Coote, nor any other, ever moved any such thing to him, but that as soon as he heard of the Irish agent's coming to Oxford, he went to the king, and beseeched his majesty not to do any thing with the Irish, in point of religion, without his knowledge: which his majesty promised he would not; and when the point of toleration came to be debated at the council-board, the king, with all the lords there, absolutely denied it; and he professed for his part, that he was ever against it, as a thing dangerous to the Protestant religion." Having answered these queries, the chairman of the committee offered him the negative oath (which had been made on purpose for all those that had adhered to the king, or came from any of his garrisons); but he desired time to consider of that; and so he was dismissed, and appeared no more; for Mr. Selden, and others of his friends in the house, made use of their interest to put a stop to that trouble. Not long after this, he retired with the countess of Peterborough to her house at Ryegate, in Surrey, where he often preached, either in her chapel, or in the parish church of that place.

About the beginning of the year 1647, he was chosen, by the honourable society of Lincoln's-inn, to be their preacher, which, after some solicitations, he accepted; and the treasurer and benchers of that

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house (whereof his good friend Mr. Hale, afterwards lord-chief-justice, was one), ordered him handsome lodgings, ready furnished; as also divers rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from Chester.

Here he was most kindly received, and treated with all respect and honour, and continued preaching to the society near seven years, till, at last, his eye-sight and teeth began to fail him, so that he could not be well heard in so large a congregation, and he was forced, about year and a half before his death, to quit that place, to the great trouble of that honourable society.

During the treaty in the Isle of Wight, between the king and the parliament, he was permitted, having received the king's commands, to wait on him there; and he had several private conferences with his majesty relative to the government of the church, in case an accommodation had taken place. After this he saw no more of the king till the day of his execution, when, being at the countess of Pembroke's house, near Charing-crofs, her gentlemen and servants having been upon the leads where they could see the whole melancholy transaction, they informed him when his majesty came upon the scaffold, and with great reluctance he went up; but when the executioners in vizards began to tuck up the king's hair, he turned pale, and would have swooned, if he had not been immediately carried off. He was, however, so deeply affected by the catastrophe, that he kept the anniversary as a private fast as long as he lived.

His great reputation having excited in Cromwell a desire to see him, he sent for him, and received him with great respect. It is also certain, that he, from this time, settled a pension upon him; but those writers who have made it a point
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to blacken the character of Cromwell, though they give credit to Dr. Bernard for every other occurrence in his account of the archbishop, think proper to disbelieve him in this, without producing any proof to the contrary.

The last public exercise performed by the archbishop was his preaching the funeral sermon of the learned Mr. Selden in 1654, at the Temple-church. In February, 1655, he retired to the country-seat of Lady Peterborough, at Ryegate, in Surrey, and assiduously employed himself in making additions to his Sacred Chronology. But his eye-sight being greatly decayed, he could only write at a window, and on clear days; yet he was apparently very healthy and vigorous for a man of his great age; but on the 20th of March he complained in the evening of a violent sciatica; and the next morning he had strong symptoms of a pleurisy, which gave him great torture. He was sensible of his approaching end, and during the intervals of pain, which he bore with great patience upwards of fourteen hours, he was fervent in prayer, and in pious exhortations to all about him; and taking an affectionate leave of the countess of Peterborough, as the agonies of death came upon him, he desired to be left to his private devotions. After which, the last words he was heard to utter just before he expired, were, "O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission." Thus died this truly excellent man, leaving behind him a most unexceptionable character, especially for his moderation in ecclesiastical matters, for which he was charged by the high church prelates with Puritanism, and remissness in his office. His relations intended to have buried him privately at Ryegate, as they were not able to defray the expences of a public funeral: but Cromwell gave orders

orders for his interment with great magnificence in Westminster Abbey at his own expence, though some say he paid only part of the charge.

His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, preacher to the law-society of Gray's-inn, who had formerly been his chaplain; and it contains a summary of his life. Cromwell also enjoined his executors not to sell his library without his consent. It consisted of ten thousand volumes in print and manuscript, and, after his decease, was eagerly sought for by the king of Denmark and by cardinal Mazarine. But what escaped the plundering scenes of those times was bestowed upon the college of Dublin, for which he intended it.

Archbishop Usher was an author of the first repute in the time in which he lived; and published a great many theological and polemical works in Latin and English. Others were published after his death. He also left several manuscripts; amongst the rest, Notes and Observation on the Writings and Characters of the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Authors, which he designed as the basis of an elaborate work, to be intitled, "*Theologica Bibliotheca*." The papers he left to the care of Dr. Langbaine, of Queen's college, who, in pursuing the design in the public library at Oxford, got a severe cold, which occasioned his death in 1657, and then the work was dropt, though Dr. Fell made some attempts to get it finished. A copy of it, as far as it is done, is preserved in the Bodleian library.

But his principal work, which has rendered the name of Usher famous in all parts of the world, where religious knowledge and sacred history are revered, is his "Sacred Chronology, or Annals of the Old and New Testament, from the Beginning of the World to the Destruction of Jerusalem by

Titus

Titus Vespasian, A. D. 70, in two Parts." The first part was published by himself in 1650, and the second in 1654. They have been reprinted in one volume in English, at London and at Dublin; and in Latin, at Paris and at Geneva; and his Chronology has been almost universally followed; though, in the part relative to the ancient Greek history, Sir Isaac Newton differs from him, and has published a chronology of his own, much esteemed by many learned men, but charged with error by others.

Archbishop Usher's Annals are justly considered as a repository of ancient history, and, as far as they go, with respect to the Roman history, which is to A. D. 73, they may be relied on; and are assuredly one of the best authorities extant. Besides these, three hundred of his letters to his numerous learned correspondents, at home and in foreign parts, were published at London, in one volume, folio, by Dr. Parr, another of his chaplains.

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